

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

May-June-July 1966

SPECIAL 32 PAGE ISSUE

25¢



**THE ANTIWAR  
MOVEMENT  
AROUND THE  
WORLD**



**THE BLACK  
PANTHER  
PARTY**

**SINYAVSKY AND DANIEL:  
WHAT THEY WROTE,  
WHY THEY WERE JAILED**

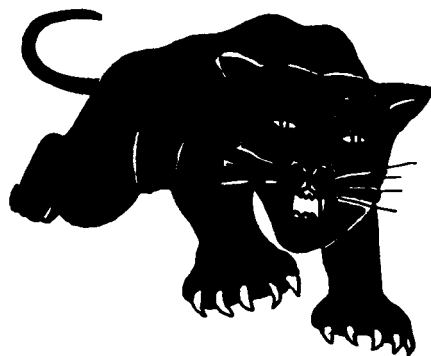
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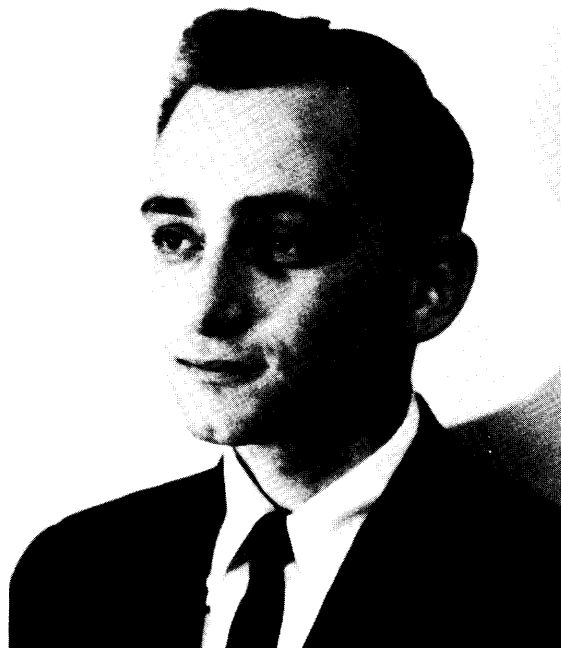
## THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AROUND THE WORLD



## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## SINYAVSKY AND DANIEL: WHAT THEY WROTE, WHY THEY WERE JAILED

# IN TRIBUTE TO LEO BERNARD



LEO BERNARD

October 24, 1938 – May 16, 1966

Leo Bernard was one of the many young people of our generation who are fighting to make this world a better place to live. He was a socialist, an antiwar activist, and a fighter for Negro equality.

On May 16, 1966, at the age of 28, he was shot and killed by an ultrareactionary who had come to the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party to "kill some communists." Two companions who were with Leo at the time, Walter Graham and Jan Garrett, were critically wounded by the same gunman.

Leo had lived all his life in Detroit. He graduated from Cass Technical Highschool, then attended Wayne State University for several years and was planning to return to school to complete his degree in biology.

In addition to being active participants in the anti-Vietnam-war movement, both Leo and his wife, Garlene Boone Bernard, were socialists. They were married March 13, 1966. Leo joined the Young Socialist Alliance in March 1964 and later became treasurer of the organization and a member of the Detroit executive committee. In October last year he left the YSA in order to become more active in the adult socialist movement. In 1964 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate in Detroit for the U.S. House of Representatives.

The tragic killing of Leo Bernard cannot be dismissed as an isolated incident, the chance act of an insane man. It followed closely on other attacks which have been aimed at intimidating our generation of radical youth, such as the bombings of the DuBois Club national office in San Francisco and the Vietnam Day Committee's headquarters in Berkeley.

The attack was a politically motivated act bred by the atmosphere in which we live. The murderer told his victims that he wanted to "kill communists," and earlier this year he had applied for admission to South Africa telling the consulate he was "armed and prepared to fight against communism."

Tragedies like this one are perpetuated and given license by a society that is itself sustained through violence and killing, a society that manufactures war games for children and stockpiles enough bombs to annihilate all humanity, a society that daily teaches violence and killing as a way of life—on the radio and TV, in the movies, comics, and press.

The Vietnam war has intensified this atmosphere, making the killing of innocent men, women, and children, labled "Communists," a glorified and heroic task. The murderer of Leo Bernard was acting out the logic of this official "kill communists" propaganda and the responsibility for his act lies with this society as a whole. Our response must be to redouble our efforts to end this war and the entire system that causes such conflicts which threaten the liberties of all Americans, and take the lives of millions of innocent victims.

The Young Socialist Alliance is grieved by the loss of Leo Bernard. But we are all the more dedicated to fight for the socialist ideas for which he died. We are all the more determined to build a society free of violence and war, race hatred and inequality. This is the way we can best pay tribute to him.

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

# Young Socialist Notes

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## Table of Contents

SINYAVSKY AND DANIEL .....	3
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY .....	7
SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS .....	11
THE ANTI WAR MOVEMENT AROUND	
THE WORLD .....	16
BOOK REVIEWS .....	27

## In This Issue

GEORGE SAUNDERS, a former editor of the *Young Socialist*, graduated from Harvard in 1960 with a major in Slavic Languages and Literature, then studied for two years at Indiana University's Russian and East European Institute. In 1962 he attended the Helsinki Youth Festival where he met the Russian poet, Yevtushenko, some of whose works he had translated. He later visited Yevtushenko in Moscow.

LEW JONES, the National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, graduated from Northwestern University in 1963. He has been active in the anti-Vietnam war movement in the United States since its beginning and has followed closely its international development.

JOHN BENSON, who graduated from Carleton College, recently returned from a tour of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. While in the south he spent a week in Lowndes County, Alabama, talking with leaders and activists in the Black Panther Party.

**NEW CHALLENGE FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT:** Sentiment against the war in Vietnam has increased qualitatively since the demonstrations against Ky and the U. S. in the cities of south Vietnam. More people than ever are accepting the idea that the troops should be brought home now. The opportunity now exists for the antiwar movement to reach out and grow by winning over new layers of the population to active opposition to the war.

This summer and fall there should be antiwar activity on the campuses, in the communities, Negro organizations, unions and high schools. Literature tables at shopping centers, meetings in homes, public debates and discussion groups, antiwar ads and articles in local papers, demonstrations and leafletting – all of these have been tried with success and should be continued. In each area there are many different things which can be done to convince and win NEW people.

Especially important will be the August 6-9 International Days of Protest when antiwar protesters here and abroad will demonstrate to show the worldwide sentiment against the war.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOLS:** Summer schools sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance will be held in ten areas this summer. Although the subjects covered will vary from school to school, many of the areas will be studying Marxist theory, Negro history, the history of socialist movements, the Negro struggle, labor history and the history of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions.

The classes will feature lectures, question periods, discussion groups and tape recordings. Students will read assigned materials to compliment the classes. Since most of the students will be working or going to college, classes will be held at night and on weekends.

Similar schools were sponsored last year by YSA chapters around the country and students mixed study with activities such as participation in the antiwar movement. Picnics, baseball games, suppers, and parties were also organized in many areas.

## STUDENTS IN REVOLT:

**Spain:** Free student associations have grown up in twelve Spanish Universities in opposition to the government controlled student unions. In Barcelona

(continued on pg. 30)



Yuli M. Daniel and Andrei D. Sinyavsky in Moscow court room.

# SINYAVSKY AND DANIEL: WHAT THEY WROTE, WHY THEY WERE JAILED

BY GEORGE SAUNDERS

"The contents of my story . . . had become known to some highly placed officials. . . . I was accused of slander, pornography, and giving away state secrets . . . . In the course of the interrogation it was established that everything I had written was pure invention, the product of a morbid and ill-intentioned mind . . . .

"Not venturing to hope for clemency, I begged only to make some corrections, at least in an epilogue . . . . I was allowed to do so, but not to take time off from my general re-education, nor from the trench-digging which formed a part of it at Kolyma [a labor camp] . . . .

"The amnesty [after Stalin's death] had virtually emptied the camp of its inmates. Only some ten

thousand of us, dangerous criminals, were left. The authorities, now more lenient, allowed us to form a shock unit of three, under a special guard with a machine gun in good working order."

Thus Andrei Sinyavsky, writing under the pseudonym Abram Tertz, predicted his own fate in his novel *The Trial Begins*. As is well known, Sinyavsky was sentenced to seven years at a hard labor camp (though not at the river Kolyma). His fellow "slanderer and traitor," Yuli Daniel, who also sent works abroad to be published under the pseudonym Nikolai Arzhak, was sentenced to five years at hard labor.

The partial transcript of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial proceedings, which appeared in the April 17

*New York Times Magazine*, makes clear that both authors repeatedly denied the charge of anti-Soviet slander. Daniel, for example, pointed out in his final plea that their works were mainly directed against the legacy of Stalin. He was never answered by the prosecution. (See box.)

Sinyavsky, in his final plea, made a telling point. The court proceedings seemed like a real-life sequel to the satirical works he and Daniel had written.

"I unfortunately put the date 1956 at the end of the epilogue to my short novel *The Trial Begins*, and I am now accused of having misrepresented that year in a slanderous way, and now they say, 'Aha, you saw what was coming to you . . . now, in 1966, off you go to a camp!' There are unmistakable undertones of gleeful malice over this in the speeches for the prosecution."

### "On Socialist Realism"

Sinyavsky's works first appeared in English in 1959 under the pseudonym Abram Tertz, by which I will refer to him. These early publications included an essay entitled "On Socialist Realism," and a short novel called *The Trial Begins*. (Both are available in English in a single volume in a Vintage paperback. Order through Merit Publishers, \$1.65.)

The essay is, first of all, a sharp critique of the "literary method" called socialist realism. In essence it is a prescription for justifying and glorifying the policies and programs of the Stalinist bureaucracy in a literary guise—a guise that often becomes quite crude. Tertz gives a good description of the kind

of work that has made the "socialist realist" school a laughing stock:

"Many of our novels and stories deal with the work of a factory, the building of a power plant, the application of an agricultural decree, and so on. An economic task is carried out in the course of the action (e.g., the start of building introduces the plot; the end of building, the denouement)."

The essay is more than a discussion of literary questions, however, as it presents Tertz's general philosophy and thus serves as a good introduction to his way of thinking and what he stands for.

Tertz traces the concept of socialist realism back to Marxism, which he views as a rigidly teleological, or purposeful, ideology. With devastating irony he describes Marxism as an all-inclusive over-simplified schematization. "At once, everything fell into place. An iron necessity and a strict hierarchical order harnessed the flow of centuries. The ape stood up on its hind legs and began its triumphant march toward Communism."

### The Stalinist School of "Marxism"

This, of course, is a caricature of Marxism, a theory which has shown itself capable of the most subtle and flexible analyses of the contradictory and conflicting forces in human history. Marxism in its classical representatives never placed theory above reality but always viewed human thought and action as occurring in dynamic interchange with historic conditions. But Tertz's caricature is not an accident. Marxism did indeed become a dogmatic stereotype in the hands of the official theoreticians of the Stalin school. And of course that is the only school of "Marxism" that Tertz, and the modern Soviet intelligentsia in general, have been taught.

In fact, it becomes clear that the "Marxism" Tertz is attacking is *precisely* that of the Stalin school. "The teleological nature of Marxism is most obvious in the works of its latest theorists. They brought to Marxism the clarity, strength, and rigor of military orders and economic decrees. A good example is Stalin's judgment on the role of ideas, taken from the fourth chapter of the *Short Course of History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, from which Tertz then quotes the following paragraph.

"There exist different ideas and theories. There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their time and serve the interests of outdated forces of society. Their significance lies in their hampering the growth of the society and its forward march. There are also new, advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in facilitating the

#### "I WAS ASKED WHY I WROTE MY STORY . . ."

I was asked [throughout the cross-examination] why I wrote my story, "This Is Moscow Speaking." Every time I replied: because I felt there was a real danger of a resurgence of the cult of personality. To this the answer was always: What is the relevance of the cult of personality, if the story was written in 1960-61? To this I say: It was precisely in those years that a number of events made one feel that the cult of personality was being revived.

This was not denied. I was not told, 'You are lying, this is not true'—my words were simply ignored as though I had never said them. Then the prosecution would say: you have slandered your people, country and government by your monstrous invention about 'Public Murder Day.' To this I would reply: it could have happened—one only has to think of the crimes committed during the cult of personality—they are far more terrible than anything written by me or Sinyavsky.

From Daniel's Final Plea, *New York Times Magazine*  
April 17, 1966

growth of the society and its forward march."

Tertz ridicules these pompous, bombastic pronouncements of the *Short Course* and other works by Stalin and his sidekicks Zhdanov and Khrushchev. "As long as its famous author [Stalin] lived," says Tertz, "the *Short Course* was the bedside book of every Soviet citizen. The entire literate population was constantly urged to study it and in particular its fourth chapter, containing the quintessence of the Marxist creed and written by Stalin himself." He quotes passages from Stalin that "the author of the Bible might envy." In general, he equates Marxism, at least in its Stalinist version, with the blind faith and fanaticism of religious belief.

At the same time, ambiguously, Tertz expresses moral agreement with socialist principles. "The modern mind cannot imagine anything more beautiful . . . than the Communist ideal." "Am I a monster? Is not the happiness of millions closer to me than empty luck for a few?"

But his admiration for the ideal is colored by irony and pessimism by the way it has worked out in practice in Soviet history. "So that prisons should vanish forever, we built new prisons. . . . So that work should become a rest and a pleasure, we introduced forced labor. So that not one drop of blood be shed any more, we killed and killed and killed . . . ."

Rejecting the "Marxism" he has been taught, yet attracted by the aims of socialist revolution, Tertz expresses his contradictory and ambivalent viewpoint most strongly when he discusses the October

**"LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF THE USSR" — MAY 1940**

The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But because of the lag of the world revolution, and the fatigue, and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its people a new oppressive and parasitic caste whose leader [was] Stalin . . .

But fortunately among the surviving conquests of the October revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' Soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered . . . to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy.

Reprinted in *The Age of Permanent Revolution:*  
A Trotsky Anthology

Revolution and its aftermath. The first five years after 1917, says Tertz, were a time when "life and art were flooded with sentiment, when the blazing *elan* toward a happy future and the world-wide significance of the revolution were not yet regimented by a strict political order."

"The memory of the Revolution is as sacred, both to those who took part in it and to those who were born after it, as the image of a dead mother. It is easier for us to grant that everything that happened after the Revolution was its betrayal than to insult its memory by reproaches and suspicions . . . For it is we who accomplished the Revolution. How then can we blame it or blaspheme against it? . . . And when we remember that, should our enemies win, they would make us return to the prerevolutionary mode of life (or incorporate us in Western democracy, it hardly matters), then, I am sure, we will start once more from where we began. We will start from the Revolution."

Recalling the passionate early years of the revolution, Tertz describes the change that took place in the realm of culture, mores, and the arts. "The river of art was covered with the ice of classicism." "The first heroes of Soviet literature stormed the fortresses of capitalism with torn bast shoes on their feet and sexual oaths on their lips . . . But now they have acquired good looks, elegant clothes, and refined manners." "Beginning with the 1930's, the passion for solemnity finally imposes itself, and a pompous simplicity of style, the hallmark of classicism, becomes fashionable . . . and we speak with slow solemnity and grandiose gestures."

Without realizing it, Tertz is describing the Soviet Thermidor, the wave of reaction that overtook the Russian Revolution and brought to predominance, on its crest, Stalin and the privileged caste for which he spoke. It is not a critical analysis which explains the isolation of the Soviet people in the years following the revolution; it does not discuss the tremendous hardships imposed by the backward economy ravaged by years of inter-imperialist fighting and civil war; it does not study the weariness of the Soviet people and the ruthlessness of the Stalinist leadership. What the author gives is an artist's description of how the "feel" of things changed.

Tertz has no clear idea of the social forces that caused the changes in Soviet history, thus he has no clear proposals on how to overcome the conservative state at which things have arrived. Instead, he attributes the present condition to something inherent about ideals and reality, an inevitable disparity between ends and means. Tertz is tormented in all of his writings by this moral dilemma. Incapable of a creative application of Marxism and see-

ing no hopeful prognosis in the realm of class struggle, he falls into a religious-artistic mysticism heavily weighted by despair.

### The Trial Begins

Even with this failing though, he has created a masterpiece of satire in *The Trial Begins*. This novel is set in the last year of Stalin's reign—on the eve of his death. The "trial" of the title is the "doctors' plot" concocted by the Stalinist regime in late 1952 and early 1953. This was an alleged conspiracy by the personal physicians of the top men in the Kremlin. The doctors, all of them Jewish, were charged with planning, in concert with foreign powers, to poison their patients.

It was generally expected that a purge trial rivaling those of the 1930's in ferocity was about to begin. When Stalin conveniently died, the charges were dropped, the bloodbath averted, and Stalin's heirs began the long involved process of de-Stalinization which still has them in a quandary today.

The main character in *The Trial Begins* is public prosecutor Globov—the epitome of the heavy-handed bureaucrat, or as Tertz calls him, "this Emelyan Pugachev who turned into a Suvorov," a "revolutionist who has survived and grown fat." We first meet Globov as he finishes his night's work, preparing a case against a gynecologist named Rabinovich, a Jewish doctor who has performed an abortion.

To advance his career, or enhance his prestige, Globov "discovers" Rabinovich's connection with

"the enemies who surround us." A plot to sabotage and undermine the whole basis of the society unfolds. This is the discovery that, in Tertz's fantasy, launches the whole series of trials of the Jewish doctors. Globov is duly commended for his work and receives a promotion.

Around Globov—whom Tertz sarcastically terms the "positive hero"—are his son Seryozha, his wife Marina, and his former mother-in-law, an old Bolshevik.

Marina is an extremely beautiful and self-centered woman. Her marriage to Globov is clearly an alliance for mutual advancement. Marina is two-timing Globov with a man named Karlinsky, who is perhaps the most repulsive of the parasitic elite Tertz describes. He is a cynical intellectual who works as a defense lawyer—meaning he is a total parasite: under the Stalinist system, legal defense was a mere formality. Karlinsky's position allows him to enjoy his individual delights and to think his own original ideas ("a potpourri of Freud and a Hawaiian guitar"). He is the most petty-bourgeois of the elite whom Tertz describes, and the only "pro-Western" figure.

### A Young Revolutionary

Seryozha, Globov's son, is a figure of special interest. He has begun to question and criticize the society, particularly the contradictions between the ideals of communism and the actual standards and conditions that are accepted in Soviet life. He develops a theory, a point of view, and a program for action. As Karlinsky, who betrays Seryozha to the secret police, exclaims: "But it's Trotskyism! Pure Trotskyism! . . . and these children had actually formed a group—a society of girls and boys who had taken up world revolution."

Tertz-Sinyavsky is certainly not a Trotskyist, or a revolutionary Marxist, as we have pointed out. Yet he is strongly sympathetic toward the young revolutionaries, even though, he makes them, at times, the objects of gentle satire.

Seryozha develops his program for "a new world, communist and radiant," in which "top wages would be paid to cleaningwomen; cabinet ministers would be kept on short rations to make sure of their disinterested motives . . . ."

"The only detail that remained unclear . . . was whether the government should be overthrown at once by force of arms, or whether it was better to wait a little, until other countries had done away with their capitalist systems. Seryozha proposed that they should wait for the world revolution, but admitted sadly that after it there would still have to be a coup d'etat."

Seryozha seeks advice on his program from

#### ANTI-SEMITISM?

The prosecutor accused Sinyavsky, among other things, of anti-Semitism. Passages like the following, which describes the thoughts of Globov, are the basis for the charge:

"He had already had occasion to prosecute at least one Rabinovich, if not two or three. Indeed, there were too many of them to remember. Every schoolboy knew today that these people with their petty-bourgeois instincts were born enemies of socialism. There were exceptions, of course—Ilya Ehrenburg, for example. But as against that, you had only to think of Trotsky, Radek, Zinoviev, Kamenev, the rootless cosmopolitans . . . people with an inborn love of treachery."

Sinyavsky spelled out the obvious to the deaf ears of his accusers in his final plea:

"The hero of *The Trial Begins*, Globov, is perhaps not a bad man, but in accordance with the requirements of the time, he makes a display of anti-Semitic sentiments and utters certain anti-Semitic words. . . . My story is clearly **against** anti-Semitism—it is about the 'doctors' plot.' But, no, the author is an anti-Semite, and so put him next to the 'fascist,' Daniel."

continued on pg. 22,





Organizer canvassing for Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY:



# A REPORT FROM LOWNDES COUNTY

BY JOHN BENSON

The southern freedom movement has taken a new step forward. In several Alabama black belt counties, where large numbers of Negroes will be voting for the first time this year, independent black parties are being formed in opposition to the Democratic Party. At least one, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization—known as the Black Panther Party because of its symbol—is strong enough to win in November if free elections are allowed.

The "liberal" Democratic Party candidates who are vying for the Negro vote in Alabama have been receiving extensive sympathetic coverage in the press. But the Black Panther Party has either been given the silent treatment or has borne the brunt of slanderous attacks.

The *New York Times* headed up the attack with an editorial on April 21, accusing the third party movement of "extremism for the sake of extremism," a "disruptive doctrine," and "a rule or ruin attitude." The *Times* directed its attack against the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) which has been active in building the independent parties. One week later the liberal *New York Post* attacked the Panther Party directly as "divisive" and "inflammatory."

What sends these editorialists into such a frenzy? Just the simple idea of Negroes organizing their own party to put their own candidates into office and openly campaigning against the Democratic Party.

I had just returned from Lowndes county when the attacks in the press began. I read that the Black Panther party and SNCC were "disruptive," and that building a new party was "mischief making"

and could "only produce frustration and defeat." But this was not a description of the movement I had seen.

What I saw in Lowndes is that the Negro people there are fed up with the racist officials. They are determined to end the killing and brutality and oppression they have been forced to live under every day of their lives. Contrary to the *New York Times*, I have never met people so united and enthusiastic about what they are doing. They are proud of their new party and go out of their way to explain what they are doing and why they are doing it. While in the county I attended the meetings of the new party and talked to its supporters and leaders. They explained to me how they began and developed their party and some of their plans for the future.

## How the Black Panther Party Was Formed

The Negroes of Lowndes County have lived under one of the most blatantly racist administrations in the South. Even though they comprise eighty-one percent of the population, not a single Negro had been registered to vote before March of last year. At the same time, 2500 whites are registered out of an eligible 1,900—130 percent! Sixty percent of all employed Negro men are farmers or farm laborers, most of them tenant farmers. Fifty percent of the Negro women employed are domestic workers.

While the median income for Negro families is \$935, whites have a median income almost five times higher, and eighty-six white families own

ninety percent of the land. Most of the officials in the county are members of these eighty-six families. As a result there is no money to pave the streets in the Negro areas and no money to build decent schools for Negro children.

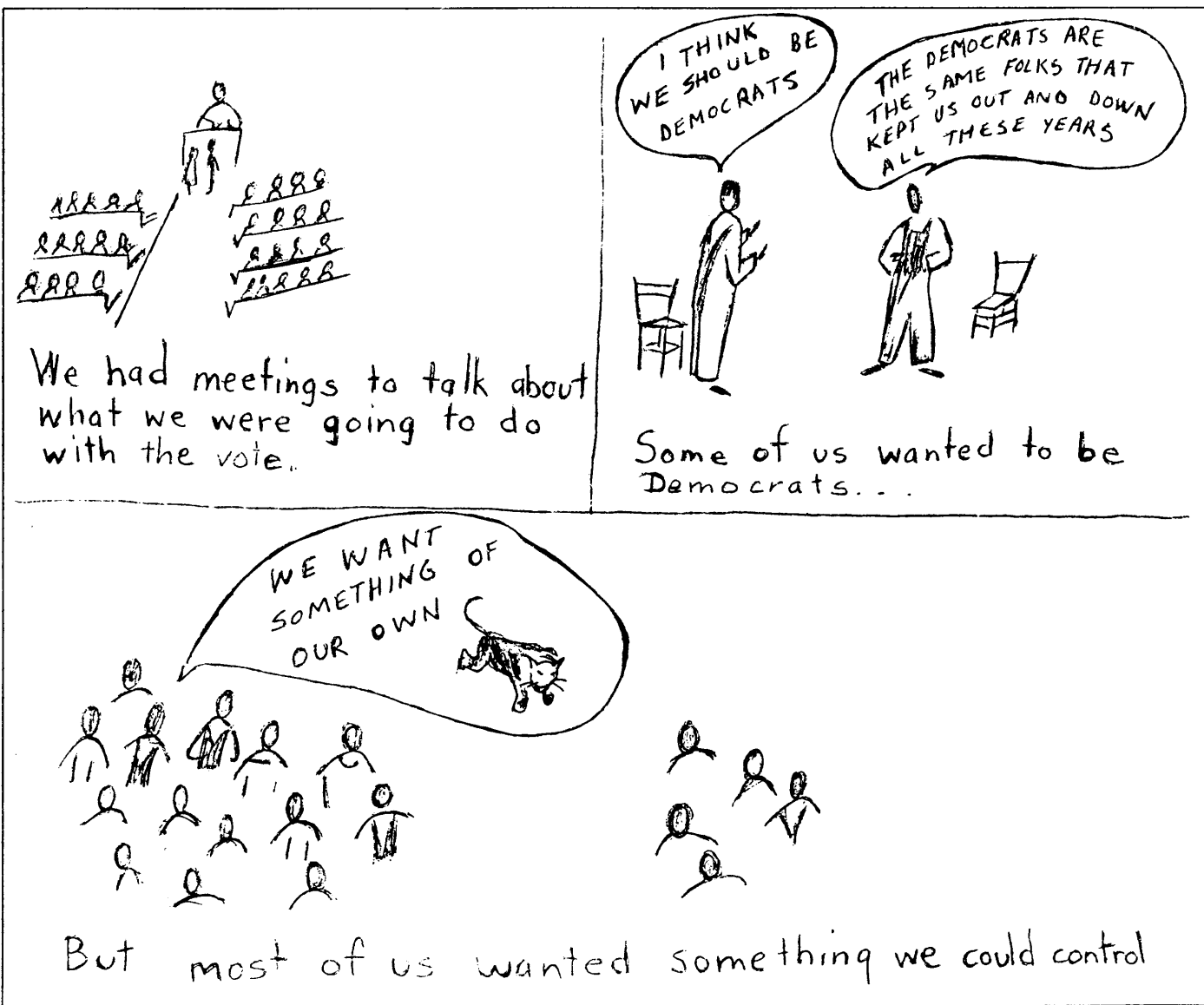
The movement to change this situation began in January, 1965 with a discussion among several people about registering to vote. They held a meeting in the middle of February with fourteen people to discuss the registration forms and literacy test. Later that night one of the people, John Hullet, met a woman on his way home from work and told her about the meeting. She said she knew some people who wanted to register and together they arranged a meeting a few days later with eight more people.

By the next registration date, March 2, a total of thirty-eight people decided to go to the courthouse in Hayneville to register. Everyone was turned away and told to return two weeks later. When they came back only fourteen applications were processed and of these only two passed—a school teacher and John Hullet.

Before the second attempt to register, the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights was organized (known as the Christian Movement for short). Twenty-seven people attended the first meeting, including a representative from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and one from SNCC. Only SNCC remained active in the county after that meeting.

Before beginning any major activities the new

These three cartoons are from a cartoon book put out by the Lowndes Freedom Organization.



organization began a campaign to recruit new members. They held meetings every Sunday night in different areas of the county. In each area they recruited a person to canvass the area. After the first few meetings average attendance grew to 200-300.

After assembling a basic cadre, the Christian Movement began two projects—one to register Negroes to vote and the other to protest against inadequate schools. Most of the school protest activity was carried out by Lowndes County high school students. They began to protest within schools for better libraries, better dining room service, and an end to the practice of holding extra curricular activities during school hours.

During the summer, plans were made for a September school boycott with the aim of ousting the principal. The boycott was unsuccessful. But this experience along with a number of others made the people of Lowndes realize that protest against the white county government was not enough. Some began to think in terms of running the county government themselves.

Meanwhile voter registration was proceeding and discussions were beginning on who to vote for. Some people wanted to join the Democratic Party and work within it to elect Negro candidates. But the overwhelming majority saw the Democratic Party of Alabama as their most direct oppressor. A decision was made to see if it would be possible to organize a new party of their own and run candidates under their party's banner.

According to Alabama law, any political organization can hold a mass meeting on the day of the primary and the county registrar is required to put their candidates on the ballot for the November elections. Thus the Black Panther Party began to build itself with the aim of taking over the county courthouse in November 1966.

### The Black Panther and the Democratic Party

From its inception the Black Panther Party has been organized in opposition to the Democratic Party. Their leaflet calling for the formation of a new party said, "We all know what happened when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to work within the structure of the national Democratic Party (the party of Lyndon Johnson, George Wallace, Bull Conner, James Clark, John Sparkman) —they got the door slammed in their faces.

"If Alabama doesn't want to repeat what happened in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party then Alabama doesn't have to."

This year the only offices the Black Panther is

trying to win are the county sheriff, tax collector, coronor, tax assessor and board of education, as these are the officials the Negroes of Lowndes have to deal with every day. They are not concerned with which Democrat wins the statewide or federal offices. They believe that the only way to progress is to have their own party and this will take time and will have to be done in steps.

### Opposition to 'Liberals'

Despite their concentration on the Lowndes County elections, however, the supporters of the Black Panther Party are campaigning against the Democratic Party "liberals" who are running for state offices, and encouraging Negroes to vote only for Black Panther candidates. An article in the April 24 *New York Times* goes through a long list of southern "liberals" running in the Democratic primaries. With larger numbers of Negroes registered to vote, old style segregationists will more and more be challenged by northern style Democratic Party politicians. They may even let Negroes win a few more posts. This process has already begun in urban centers like Birmingham and Atlanta where Negroes have been registered for some time.

A campaign is being waged by the liberals and "moderate" Negro leadership to keep the Negro vote within the Democratic Party. It is focused on the governor's race where George Wallace who cannot legally succeed himself, is running for re-election through his wife, Lurleen Wallace. His major opponent is Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who has been presented as a courageous fighter for Negro rights.

This campaign is beginning to take on the phoney aspects of the Johnson-Goldwater campaign. Wallace is presented as the evil madman who is trying to circumvent the law and succeed himself while Flowers is the "friend of the Negro people." But Flowers is also a part of the racist administration of Alabama. His image is being refurbished just as Johnson, with the help of the press, changed his image

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from conservative Texan to liberal man of peace and civil rights fighter.

As Attorney General, Flowers was responsible for getting convictions on crimes against civil rights fighters, but he has never pressed for them. The people of Lowndes have had direct experience with his failures. When Jonathan Daniels, a white seminary student working on voter registration was killed in Lowndes, the killer went free.

Stokely Carmichael, one of the main organizers of the new party, spoke on this at a meeting I attended: "When Jonathan Daniels was killed, Richmond Flowers said he was for justice. He didn't say he was for Negroes. He said he was for justice. When Sammy Younge was killed that cracker didn't say anything. When a white man is killed, he says he is for justice and when a Negro is killed, he doesn't say anything . . . He's only said he's for justice. He's never said he's for us, and there's a big difference."

### King Campaigning For Democratic Party

Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have entered the campaign directly in an attempt to stop the growth of a new, black party. King himself has toured Alabama urging people to vote for Flowers, but his tour, which went through the black belt counties, passed over Lowndes. From what I saw there his pro-Democratic party line would not be very well received.

Two Negro organizations, the Alabama Democratic Conference and the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations which was recently set up by SCLC's Hosea Williams, have endorsed Flowers for governor, and SCLC is backing Negroes in the Democratic primaries where they have no hope of winning.

Albert Turner, SCLC's Alabama project director and a candidate for state senator in the Democratic primary, showed up at a mass meeting in Perry County and attacked the Freedom Organization SNCC was trying to build there. He said, "SNCC doesn't register voters, doesn't care about registering voters," and pointed to two SNCC workers and said that all they wanted to do was split the Negro vote.

In spite of all these attacks, the Freedom Organizations in Alabama's black belt counties are gain-

ing support. Pointing to the racism and oppression in the North, the organizers of the new parties argue that significant gains can best be won outside the framework of the Democratic Party.

Advocates of "reforming" the Democratic Party claim that increased Negro registration in Alabama has forced the Democratic Party to drop the words "white supremacy" from its state symbol—a white rooster. However, the actual credit for even this minor gain goes to the independent organization of the Negroes of Lowndes County. Not until the Freedom Organization had circulated a leaflet exposing this symbol did the Democratic Party replace this phrase with the word, "Democrat."

Although independent parties are being organized in a number of black belt counties, the Negroes of Lowndes realize that their's is the strongest. Whenever they are asked, people from Lowndes speak in other counties about their Freedom Organization. On one day alone, sixty people spoke in six different counties encouraging people to build new parties.

Frank Miles Jr., an officer of the Freedom Organization told me, "First, we're going to straighten out this county, then, we're going to spread abroad. First, we'll go into other counties of Alabama, then into the North, into Harlem, Chicago, and Watts."

There is no more powerful idea than the simple one that black people should organize themselves independently to do the things that the two major parties have failed to do for over a hundred years. But the Democratic Party and the ruling groups which use it to organize support for their interests will fight tooth and nail to keep Negroes voting Democratic. The Democratic Party is dependent on the Negro vote to win.

Stokely Carmichael explained this in a talk when he said, "The Democratic Party in this country is the most treacherous enemy the Negro has, period! Black people need power, and Bobby Kennedy doesn't want us to have power.

"It's in the interests of Robert Kennedy and Washington to squash the Lowndes County Freedom Organization because it will spread. And that's what we're working for—a national organization."

Every partisan of the Negro struggle should watch what happens in Lowndes County closely. As the *New York Times* articles show, the rulers of this country will also be watching it—doing everything within their power to prevent the Negroes of Lowndes from continuing their independent struggle in an effective way.

Any successes which the Black Panther has will encourage people throughout the country to follow its lead. Just the fact that the people in Lowndes have been able to organize the Black Panther Party is a gain in the struggle for Negro equality.

The Berkeley YSA is helping to support the Black Panther Party by distributing buttons with the black panther symbol on a blue background. Order from Ernie Erlbeck, 920 Cornell Ave., Albany, Calif. 94706. Buttons are thirty cents.



Berkeley FSM demonstration, 1964.

BY DOUG JENNESS

For the last two months, Doug Jenness, the editor of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST* has been on a national speaking tour. The article printed below is the text of a talk which he gave on dozens of campuses across the country.

Our generation is coming to maturity at one of the most dangerous and exciting junctures in world history. Never before has there been a generation of youth that has known throughout its entire conscious existence that a nuclear holocaust could exterminate the human race at any time. However we may choose to live our lives or whatever our ideas may be for changing this society, the harsh threat of nuclear war is an unavoidable constant in our calculations. The consciousness of this reality plagues us and is a continual reminder that full security and normalcy are impossible.

Since the birth of civilization, the overwhelming majority of mankind has lived in poverty and under some form of tyranny, while a tiny privileged minority has lived in relative luxury and leisure. There has always been resistance to these conditions, but it has only been in the last hundred years that man's technological development has created the possibility of completely eliminating this oppression and misery. Today, the world is seething with revolution, and millions of people, especially in the colonial world, are becoming conscious of the *possibility* as well as the *desirability* of improving their lot, throwing out their masters, and building a new and better world.

Thus, despite the gloomy shadow of the "bomb,"

we are also living in one of the most exciting and hopeful times since the social beginnings of mankind. Everyday, when you pick up the morning newspaper there is news about a revolutionary movement somewhere in the world. Any evening you turn on the TV set you can see pictures of a revolution in progress.

### **The Impact of the Colonial Revolution**

This revolutionary upsurge abroad, and the reaction it has evoked from Washington, has had a deep effect on the American youth of our generation. The use of U. S. troops to crush popular revolutions, as in Vietnam, has taught us a great deal about the nature of "American democracy." The Vietnam war more than any single event in the post World War II period, has unmasked the hypocrisy, deceit, and sheer brutality of American foreign policy. It has rudely awakened thousands of our generation to the horrible truth that the U. S. role in the world is counterrevolutionary and directed against the interests of the world's population.

The colonial revolution, and especially the African revolution, has also deeply inspired the Negro struggle within the United States, and this struggle has, in turn, been another radicalizing influence on our generation. Students have joined and participated in various aspects of the civil rights struggle from the Woolworth picketing in 1960 to the voter registration projects carried out by SNCC,

and the effect of the Southern civil rights movement on student radicals is reflected in the language and tactics employed by them, such as sit-ins, "participatory democracy," and non-violent action. This was very clear during the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, many of whose leaders came directly out of the civil rights struggle.

Not only racial discrimination in the U. S., but also the economic poverty of both Negroes and whites is of concern to students. The incongruity of American prosperity side by side with poverty and slums in the heart of every city and throughout the rural areas raises many questions about our economic and social system—and has caused some of us to reject the system completely.

In addition to all of these factors, many of us are just fed up with the sterility and conformity of American life. We are disgusted by the narrowness of university administrations, the deceit of professors, and the cold war lies of the politicians and press. We feel there is something sick about a society that spawns the competitive "dog eat dog" philosophy where profits and social position precede human welfare in the scale of values.

All of these conditions and forces acting together have given rise to the student radicalization that began in the late 1950's and has mushroomed with the advent of the anti-Vietnam war movement. The emergence of these new rebels is very important and there has been considerable discussion about them in both the official and radical press.

### "The System"

One of the outstanding characteristics of this movement is a deep disenchantment with the present economic, social and political structures that exist in the United States, and a desire to replace them with a new, more humanistic system. Paul Potter, former president of Students for a Democratic Society, highlighted this sentiment a year ago at the March on Washington when he stated that, "We must name that system. We must name it, describe it, analyze it, and change it. For it is only when that system is changed and brought under control that there can be any hope for stopping the forces that create a war in Vietnam today or a murder in the South tomorrow or all the incalculable, innumerable more subtle atrocities that are worked on people all over—all the time."

Describing the system, and more importantly the question of how to change it, has been the focus of considerable discussion among the new radicals, and I would like to contribute to this

discussion from a socialist point of view.

For the last fifty years the position of American socialists has been that the form of economic and social organization that exists in the United States is monopoly capitalism. I think that this description still holds today. This analysis is based on the fact that most of the wealth in the country is owned or controlled by a tiny group of corporations and families and that all the primary means of production—factories, tools, land, and capital—are concentrated in the hands of this group. This can be illustrated by figures from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* for 1964 which show that in 1958 only 4 percent of American corporations accounted for half of the industrial output and hired 42 percent of all employees. Not only is the economy very concentrated, but it is becoming more so. Between 1929 and 1963, the net capital assets of the 100 largest corporations jumped from 44 percent to 58 percent. Although all the prerequisites for production are owned by a tiny minority which runs them in order to maximize profits, production is actually carried out by the vast majority of Americans, most of whom are salaried or wage employees. The men and women who do the work in our society are also those who benefit the least.

The governmental bureaucracy and politicians in Washington and in every state capital in the country are dedicated to the maintenance of this system. They run the state apparatus through which the rulers of this country maintain their control.

It is the job of the State Department, for example, in collaboration with the various military departments to oversee the preservation of capitalism on a world scale. Capitalism by its very internal dynamics is an expanding system which at its present stage requires markets for goods and investments and sources of raw materials. It is a simple fact that the United States must maintain the capitalist system in other countries in order to keep this world system going. Thus, the U. S., as chief cop for world capitalism, has the responsibility of crushing those colonial revolutions which threaten to go in a socialist direction. Vietnam, of course, is a good example of this, for even though the U. S. does not have any direct economic stake in south Vietnam, it is compelled to stop that revolution and maintain a chain of military bases in southeast Asia.

### The Bureaucracies

The new radicals generally do not disagree that "the system" is capitalism (or monopoly capitalism, or imperialist monopoly capitalism); but some-

how they feel that this explanation is too simple and insufficient. This reluctance to categorize the system as capitalism is partially due to the fact that the direct experience of the new radicals has been with secondary and indirect manifestations of the system. They tend to see the various government bureaucracies, in and of themselves, as the main problem, rather than facing the more fundamental question of who controls these bureaucracies, how, and for what purpose.

For example, in the civil rights movement, in free speech movements, and in the various community programs to combat poverty, student radicals run up against city administrations, local police departments, landlords, and government bureaucrats. But they seldom have a direct confrontation with the big capitalists themselves. As James Aronson wrote in an article entitled "The Movement and Its Critics," printed in the January-February 1966 *Studies on the Left*, "Washington, General Motors and United States Steel may remotely be seen as part of the same system, but are hardly conceived as its very heart. As institutions they resemble local administrations only by analogy; they are undemocratic."

Also, from the personal experience of most new radicals, it appears to them that the important decisions are made by the gigantic bureaucracy which is centered in Washington and extends into every city and state capital in the country. They see the huge military complex that is intertwined with the governmental bureaucracy, the elected politicians, and the corporations. Yet even the large corporations do not appear to have conventional capitalists at their helm. As Potter put it, they have "faceless bureaucracies."

The terms that are commonly used by many new radicals to describe the system reflect their way of approaching the problem. For example,

the most widely used are "warfare-welfare state," and "corporate state." The rulers of the country are usually referred to as the "power elite," the "establishment," or the "power structure."

In addition to reflecting the ingrained American prejudice against using Marxist terms and concepts, this tendency to focus attention on the state apparatus itself, rather than those who control the apparatus, is a reflection of the very real fact that the international and domestic needs of the ruling class in this country require an extended governmental bureaucracy and the largest military organization in world history. Despite the expanded character of the state apparatus, however, it is still the instrument of the ruling capitalist class, the instrument through which it maintains its power.

### What Kind of New Society?

Many of the discussions that are taking place among the new radicals on *how* to change society are directly related to the question of analyzing "the system." But before taking up some of the more important issues under discussion, the question arises, what kind of society do we want? There are several important goals that most of us agree on.

We aim toward building a society where the majority of people participate in the decision making process.

We desire the elimination of racial discrimination and oppression, and hope to see the day when no man feels prejudiced against another man because of race. As a first step, we insist that those guilty of practicing discrimination be penalized.

Third, we want the wealth of this country to be used not for the enrichment and luxury of a tiny minority but for the welfare of all.

Fourth, we want the fundamental principles of our foreign policy to be complete respect for the right of other nations to self-determination, economic assistance, and non-exploitive cooperation.

If this is the kind of society we want, the most important question for new radicals to answer is whether or not our goals *can* be attained under the present economic system. If the answer is yes, then the purpose of building a "movement" in this country is to reform and change those aspects of capitalism which prevent the realization of such a society.

As socialists, however, we say the answer is no, our goals cannot be attained without changing the economic and social system that has given rise to the conditions we want to eliminate. Racism, war, and poverty are inextricably woven into the economic and social fabric of capitalism—a system of production and allocation of material goods

A WEEKLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

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The purpose of building a social movement is not to reform the bureaucracy but to effect a revolutionary change in society, to establish a system of production based on the needs of the majority and controlled by the majority. It is from this perspective that I want to discuss several propositions on *how* to build a movement to change society that are widely prevalent among the new radicals.

One of the first tenets of the new radicals is that people involved in movements for social change should make the decisions. This follows from the eventual goal of creating a society where the majority of people participate in the decision making process, and the revulsion of the new radicals against the cynical and bureaucratic manipulation practiced by government officials, Democratic and Republican party politicians, labor bureaucrats and many of the so-called civil rights leaders is a positive response to one of the most despicable phenomenon in our country. Revolutionary socialists are in complete agreement that all organizations aimed at eliminating American capitalism should be run democratically and dedicated to the democratic participation of the masses.

### Political Independence

The second proposition widely accepted among the new radicals is that a movement for social change must at all times be independent of the institutions and structures that it is fighting. This is vitally important, for more than one revolutionary minded person has been led in a reformist direction by deciding that it would not hurt to work in a democratic primary or a government anti-poverty project in order to make this little gain or win that little concession.

Walter Reuther is one of the best negative examples

Demonstrators in Birmingham—"The high degree of concentration of Negroes in urban ghettos, their strategic location, and their racial and national consciousness have made them an extremely powerful force for change."



of this. At one time he was a socialist and a militant in the trade union movement; once he began to move right, however, he involved himself in the Democratic party and rapidly became a servant rather than an opponent of the ruling class. Now, in addition to denouncing strikes such as the recent New York city transit strike, he is trying to organize a crusade against poverty which is designed to buy off militant, revolutionary-minded poverty fighters and bring them into a well-financed, respectable, reformist program.

There are also some positive examples of revolutionaries who have upheld the principle of complete independence from the structures and institutions of the ruling class, and among the best of them was Malcolm X. He was the only major Negro leader *not* to rally behind Johnson in the 1964 elections and who over and over again taught that the Negro people must organize themselves independently of the white power structure.

Malcolm X said that he was not for an organization that "has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing, which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself." Consequently, he has done more than Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, A. Phillip Randolph, and James Farmer together to teach both black and white radicals what we need to know to change this system.

A third proposition advanced by the new radicals is that to change this society requires direct action on the part of those involved. This militant sentiment which opposes any sort of rationalization that allows some individuals to sit on the sidelines is another good feature of the revolutionary minded youth. The sit-ins, the free speech demonstrations, and the massive rallies against the Vietnam war are all examples of this direct involvement.

The weak point, however, is that activism in the absence of a long term perspective can lead to demoralization. It is much easier to see the important role played by antiwar demonstrations when one has a broader and more long range perspective of eventually organizing all those forces that can bring about a fundamental change in our society.

### Who Can Change Society

The fourth theory I want to discuss is that the most poverty stricken and most oppressed sections of the population are the most likely source of forces to change society. A corollary of this is that the most effective way of inspiring the poor to organize themselves is by appealing only to bread and butter issues facing them in their own com-



munities.

This emphasis on organizing the poor—the rural families of Mississippi and Appalachia, the unorganized urban poor—often has heavy social worker overtones which reflect the uncertainty of the new radicals as to whether the lot of the poor can be changed within the present system.

A second, and much more important error is that the new radicals often fail to grasp the tremendous *revolutionary* potential of the Negro struggle. The high degree of concentration of Negroes in urban ghettos, their strategic location and their growing racial and national consciousness has made them an extremely powerful force. This has been clearly demonstrated in the last few years by the revolts in Birmingham, Harlem, and Watts, the development of Malcolm X, the emergence of the Black Panther Party, and many other events.

Discussing the question of who can play a decisive role in changing society, Ronald Aronson, in his article in *Studies on the Left*, points to another decisive weakness in the orientation of many new radicals when he writes, "The movement's main weapon of opposition is its power of disruption: picketing, sitting-in, destroying the business image of a city or state. Although useful for winning concessions these tactics carry no implication of direct control over the levers that run the system. They *ask* for concessions rather than assert the power to seize them. Contrast this with the workers' strike." He then goes on to point out how the organized working class, because of its strategic role in the process of production, has tremendous power as a locomotive to carry through a social transformation.

We had a tremendous example of this in the recent New York transit strike, where a relatively small number of workers was able to cripple the entire city of New York for twelve days and, as a result, made substantial gains, despite the bureaucratic leadership of the union.

"But aren't the white workers too conservative and too integrated into the 'establishment' to ever lift a finger against capitalism?" That is the question which is frequently asked, but the answer is an emphatic no. A geologist does not declare a volcano to be dead simply by its appearance; he first looks beneath the surface for subterranean forces that may be preparing for another eruption. This is the way we must approach the working class.

The condition of the organized working class even though far superior to that of the unorganized poor, is not a bed of roses. The apparent prosperity that the workers are experiencing now is propped up by widespread credit buying and large debts, while a small decrease in income relative to the increase in prices threatens the gains they have made.

The most significant thing to remember, however,

is that the standard of living is relative. The American worker who has become accustomed to his present living conditions is going to fight as hard to keep his television set and car as a worker one century ago fought for the ten hour day. The will to fight does not require the worst and most unbearable conditions. In Cuba, for example, the workers had a higher standard of living than their counterparts in most other Latin American countries, yet Cuba was the first country in the western hemisphere to make a revolutionary break with capitalism.

Another argument used by some new radicals who reject the working class as a significant force for changing society is that Marxist theories are irrelevant because they assume a major economic crisis or depression. Nothing could be further from the truth. A depression *may* set the stage for a radicalization of the workers, but it is certainly not a *necessary* pre-condition.

In Belgium, for example, the workers called a nationwide general strike in 1960 when there was no depression and no widespread unemployment; on the contrary, there was a labor shortage and a rising standard of living. The strike was sparked by the attempt of the big corporations and the government to keep the relative rise of wages lower than the rise in the cost of living by means of a wage-price guideline type of formula. Since 1960 the radicalization of the Belgium workers has continued.

Today in this country I could foresee, though I do not categorically predict, a beginning radicalization among American workers as a result of several factors none of which are unemployment or depression. An attempt by President Johnson to prevent wages from rising faster than 3.2 percent annually while prices and profits skyrocket, combined with the escalation of the unpopular war in Vietnam, could trigger a response from the trade union movement. The essential point I am trying to make is that in the U. S. today the industrial workers are more likely to radicalize around political questions such as wage-price guidelines and imperialist war than around direct economic grievances against their employers. Also, government intervention to try and prevent strikes in any key industry has become so common that a fight with the boss frequently leads to a fight with the government as well.

The fifth proposition on building a movement for social change that I want to discuss is the theory that in order to build an honest, and effective social movement, it is necessary to do so in the image of the society we eventually want to see built. That is, as revolutionaries who aim to change this order

By Lew Jones

Demonstrations and protests that occur in different parts of the world receive only sparse coverage in the American press. As a result, Americans active in opposing the war in Vietnam have found it difficult to learn what is happening in other countries. In order to get a fuller picture of the international opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the YOUNG SOCIALIST recently wrote to revolutionary socialists who have been active in building anti-Vietnam-war activities in their own countries, asking for reports on the extent and development of opposition to U.S. policies. The following article is based primarily on the replies received.

Unless the source of a quote is otherwise indicated, it is from the reports sent to the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

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In the last year and a half, the growing American aggression in Vietnam, and the development of an international protest movement against it has become the single most significant issue on the world political scene. Washington's war has provoked heated international debate between the governments of various countries. But far more important, it has sparked massive protests around the world, especially by students and young workers.

### Overwhelming Opposition

Those who oppose the naked aggression of the U. S. constitute the overwhelming majority of mankind. This can be illustrated by the opinion polls in countries where polls have been taken.

In Australia, for example, which also has troops in Vietnam, public opposition to the war has risen sharply in recent months. A poll taken last February showed a majority of the population, 57 percent, opposed to the war, while only 32 percent were in favor. In Sweden, the Swedish Institute of Opinion Research announced in October of 1965, that seven out of eight Swedish citizens were opposed to U.S. policy in Vietnam. In Japan, as early as June, 1965, the kydo News Service Poll published a survey which found that only 3.6 percent of the Japanese people supported U. S. policy in Vietnam.

This overwhelming opinion against the war makes itself felt in the concrete political life of most countries. In Japan, for example, as in other countries with strong working class political parties, this opposition to the U.S. war is often expressed through official trade union channels. In August 1965, the General Council of Japan Trade Unions (Sohyo) ended its 28th convention with a resolution pledging an "all out fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam." The resolution also demanded "the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and recognition of the right of self-determination."

Demonstration called by the Sorbonne Committee Against the War in Vietnam, March 25, 1966.



## THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AROUND THE WORLD

Tokyo, October 16, 1965. More than 100,000 workers and students demonstrated against U.S. policy in Vietnam.



In Belgium both the Confederation Generale des Services Publiques and the Liege Region of the Federation Generale des Travailleurs de Belgique (together representing 250,000 workers) passed motions supporting the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and its policy of political opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Our Italian correspondent wrote, "the Vietnam war is the most deeply felt problem in Italian working class circles. Every day one opens the paper more news is brought out on this dirty war. It has become the permanent topic for discussions, both official and unofficial, inside working class organizations. Whatever the agenda is, you invariably hear somebody making reference to this problem."

### The International Role of American Opposition

The emergence of a protest movement within the United States—the first large scale internal opposition to U.S. foreign policy in nearly two decades—has inspired the movement abroad and has been recognized by people all over the world as an extremely important development.

For years the United States has been the bastion of imperialist reaction, and outside of the Negro struggle, the rest of the world thought that political opposition within the U.S. was dead. But, the antiwar movement has begun to change this. A student at the Sorbonne who has been active in organizing anti-Vietnam war demonstrations put it this way: "We never thought it possible to have such a movement in the United States. Students and intellectuals were at first surprised to learn that there are young people in the U.S. who are against the war and they are very encouraged. . . . On every demonstration we carry signs saying we are in solidarity with the American students who are fighting against the war in Vietnam. People are beginning to think that American students are like other students around the world."

The effect that the American antiwar movement has had in other countries shows up in very concrete ways. For instance the teach-in has become an international phenomenon, organized by groups from Britain to Australia to Japan. As the Sorbonne student commented, "the word teach-in (which we use in English) has become very popular. Many students aren't really sure what teach-ins are, how they got started, or what they do, but everyone wants to have a teach-in, and it's one of the activities that the new Sorbonne Committee Against the War in Vietnam is going to organize."

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network cut it off the air after the first six hours.

Another indication of the impact of the American antiwar movement is that Berkeley, and the Vietnam Day Committee have become internationally famous. Reports from around the world indicate that the Berkeley VDC's call for an International Days of Protest last October 15 and 16 provided the spark which set off the first large wave of demonstrations and in many countries marked the real beginning of an organized movement against the war. Not everyone was quite sure what the VDC was; some thought it was a national organization and were surprised to hear that it is limited to Berkeley. As a correspondent in France wrote, "Although no one knew exactly what the Vietnam Day Committee was, it symbolized American opposition to the war and we wanted to show our support."

In Sydney, Australia, the Vietnam Action Committee (VAC), the leading antiwar organization in the country, was built on the model of the VDC. A member of the VAC wrote that, "During this period (May, 1965), the American protest movement was developing rapidly, and several people in Sydney were watching with interest. . . ." They "came to the conclusion that an organization in Sydney similar to the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee should be launched. To this end a meeting was called of people who had participated in the previous demonstrations, and the Vietnam Action Committee was born."

### International Coordination

Antiwar sentiment has grown with phenomenal speed throughout the world. In practically every country the organized antiwar movement is now just over a year old. During this period of time, with rare exceptions, demonstrations and protests have occurred around the same dates, each succeeding date showing a larger and more impressive array of forces opposed to the war.

The first mass demonstrations began about the same time as the April 17, 1965, March on Washington in the United States. In many places these demonstrations were not organized specifically as anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations, but were traditional spring peace marches which took on a more militant character. Many of the participants carried signs directly condemning U. S. aggression.

In Brussels, 25,000 youth demonstrated in the Fourth Annual Anti-Nuclear March on March 28, 1965. Despite the fact that the march organizing committee banned anti-government and anti-U. S. signs, many placards protested chemical warfare in Vietnam, and demanded "Hands Off Vietnam" and "Let's Get Out of NATO."

In Latin America, despite severe restrictions on demonstrations and public rallies, militant protests were held in many countries. In Santiago, Chile, for example, members and supporters of the M. I. R. (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) sponsored a demonstration at the Plaza de Armas in the center of the city on March 16 and later in April organized a rally at the University of Chile. In Mexico City, "lightening demonstrations" were organized by groups of 10-20 people at strategic points in the city.

The summer of 1965 marked another period of growth and a consolidation of the gains the protest movement had already made. Demonstrations were larger and the struggle became more organized.

In Mexico, for instance, the reaction to the U. S. invasion of the Dominican Republic was so great that the government was forced to allow a demonstration of 20,000 people protesting U. S. aggression in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. In Japan the Sohyo trade union convention in August made plans to dispatch "international organizers" to African, Asian, and Latin American countries to help solidify sentiment opposed to the war. In Belgium the Committee for Medical and Hospital Supplies to Vietnam (organized on the example of a similar committee formed during the Algerian war) was organized with 100 doctors signing the appeal for aid.

**October 15th and 16th**

The call for the October 15-16 International Days of Protest by the Berkeley VDC served as a springboard for groups, old and new, around the world to organize larger demonstrations involving more layers of society. The call was enthusiastically picked up by militants in almost every section of the world, and this was especially true in Western Europe.

In Brussels, activists turned out 3,000, twice the number mobilized in May, 1965, for a similar demonstration to protest under the slogan "US Get Out of Vietnam." The Committee for Struggle Against Neocolonialism and Fascism, which was backed by all the major political groups on the left, including the left wing social democrats, and by three trade unions—the railway workers, the gas and electricity workers and the teachers, was formed at this time.

A correspondent from Switzerland reported that "on the International Vietnam Day (October 15) an *ad hoc* group of youth staged a demonstration in front of the American consulate in Zurich distributing a leaflet, referring explicitly to the Berkeley appeal. Noteworthy also was a 'teach-in' about Vietnam, inspired by the American example, which took place in the very reactionary Polytechnic University in Zurich. Hundreds of students assembled to hear very prominent bourgeois speakers as

well as an official representative of the Party of Labor (such a thing has not happened for years, this party being a sort of moral outlaw). During the debate a majority of the mostly pro-American students shifted their position and by the end were opposed to U. S. actions in Vietnam. One very important reason for this was the persuasiveness of the South American students who participated. During this winter two committees about Vietnam have formed, containing many prominent intellectual figures."

The first International Days of Protest were also important in the organization of the anti-Vietnam war sentiment in France. "The first large demonstration in Paris was on October 15-16 when we demonstrated in solidarity with the Vietnam Day Committee. . . . There were at least 5000 or 6000 on that demonstration, which took place in front of the American Embassy. The Communist Party wanted the demonstration to be on some other date, but the Communist Youth at the Sorbonne insisted that it be held on the International Days of Protest and we finally won."

In Italy, also, thousands responded to the October call. "The participation in demonstrations called on the occasion of the International Days of Protest was very large. The biggest mass contribution was of course Communist, but formally the initiative was taken by an 'Anti-Vietnam-War Committee,' composed of intellectuals. In October, large all-night meetings and torch light parades were organized in Rome and in other cities."

In addition to the demonstrations described, protests were organized in hundreds of other cities around the world during the first International Days of Protest.

### **March 25th and 26th**

By the Second International Days of Protest at the end of last March, the antiwar movement had gained sufficient strength to practically double the size of the first days of protest.

The March days of protest marked a very important turning point in Canada, for example, where anti-Vietnam-war sentiment was solidified around demonstrations on the 26th. A Canadian student who has been active in organizing antiwar demonstrations reported that "the impulse of the U. S. antiwar movement has been strongly felt in Canada. Though the struggle against the war in Vietnam has only really begun to grow over the past three or four months, the movement in Canada is rapidly assimilating the experiences of more than a year's activity in the US, and developing its own distinctive features.

"The call for Canadians to join in the Second International Days of Protest was first issued by the

Federal Council of the New Democratic Youth (YND), the youth section of the New Democratic Party, which is based on the trade unions. It was taken up by the provincial YND sections and by almost every anti-war group in the country. . . .

"On the 26th, 3000 people from Ontario and Quebec (including 1200 who came by special train from Toronto) marched on Parliament Hill in Ottawa." (A comparison of population figures shows that this demonstration involved as high a percentage of the Canadians as the April 17 March on Washington involved Americans.) "The largest demonstration in Canada was held in Vancouver, where over 3000 people marched through the city and about 5000 rallied in front of the court house."

The results of these large demonstrations have been significant. Committees against the war now exist in almost every major city in Canada, including a large city-wide high school committee in Toronto, the Students Against The War in Vietnam. After the March on Ottawa representatives from committees and organizations across Canada met and decided to publish a national bulletin to better coordinate activity and circulate information on Vietnam and the antiwar movement.

A call issued by the Secretariat of the Tri-Continental Conference in Cuba for a week of solidarity demonstrations with the National Liberation Front, from March 12-19, played an important role in helping to mobilize the international protest. In Chile a mass public meeting of 5,000 was organized to demonstrate against the Vietnam war and the Frei government, and in Mexico this time 10,000 demonstrated in Mexico City, denouncing the dirty war being waged by the U. S. government.

In France, the newly formed Comité Sorbonne Contre La Guerre Du Viet-Nam (Sorbonne Committee Against the War in Vietnam) supported the call of the Tri-Continental Conference by preparing a huge exposition on Vietnam that was displayed at the school on March 25.

In Tokyo on March 20, 138,000 people demonstrated protesting the U. S.-Japan Security Pact. A resolution was adopted calling for an end to the war in Vietnam and demanding the cancellation of a proposed visit to Japan by south Vietnam's General Ky. Over a million people participated in similar demonstrations in more than 400 Japanese cities.

The second International Days of Protest also marked the beginning of protests in several new countries, such as Israel, where thousands of workers and youth participated in demonstrations in Tel Aviv and Haifa on March 26.

### **Important Difference**

The major difference between the American antiwar movement and that in other countries was

explained very well in the report from Italy: "With a view to understanding the real extent of the anti-Vietnam-war movement in Italy, it should be borne in mind that the political level of the Italian working class movement is very high, despite the uncertainties and the opportunist line of its leading parties. Therefore, antiwar marches, processions, meetings and demonstrations such as those organized in the United States or in Britain are not, by themselves, a witness of the progressive role of their organizers, for the existing political level should allow more militant actions."

With these factors in mind it is easier to understand the importance of the fights being waged by the left wings of the social democratic and communist parties to force the leadership of these parties to mobilize the workers against the war.

The existence of the antiwar movement in Canada, for instance, has had an impact on the development of the Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party. The existence of this party, which is formally on record as opposed to the war, makes propagandizing against the war much easier than in the U. S. However, the social democratic leadership of the NDP does not look fondly on the organization of a militant antiwar movement with an anti-imperialist tone, because it strengthens the socialist caucus in the party.

The role that a more conscious labor movement can play in the development of the antiwar movement was explained by a Canadian student who wrote, "A major force in the growth of the Canadian movement has been the participation of Canadian trade unionists. The Canadian labor congress, made up for the most part of the Canadian divisions of the AFL-CIO international unions, is on record in opposition to the war. Many large union locals, particularly of the United Auto Workers, and several

city labor councils have participated in some aspect of the antiwar movement. In Toronto, the whole convention of the United Electrical Workers marched on the American consulate. A labor committee against the war has been formed in Ontario, with leading figures from many unions participating."

One of the major slogans raised by the antiwar movement in Canada has been "No Canadian Complicity," underscoring the role of the Canadian government in cooperating with the United States. Our Canadian correspondent wrote that, "As a member of the International Control Commission in Vietnam, Canada has consistently white-washed U. S. actions there, and provided a diplomatic cover for American aggression. The lengths to which this white washing goes is shown by an incident related by John Powell, former member of the International Control Commission (ICC) at a conference on Canada's role in Vietnam held in Toronto, February 19. An ICC team was watching an airfield near Saigon. The Polish and Indian delegates pointed out U. S. airplanes landing, whereupon the Canadian present complained he couldn't see because of the fog. When handed a pair of binoculars, he acknowledged that the planes were marked 'Marines', but objected that the markings didn't specify 'what Marines'!

"Canada's actions on the ICC clearly demonstrate the treachery of such 'impartial' international bodies. By demanding an end to Canadian complicity, Canadian antiwar activists are in fact opposing any subordination of Vietnamese self-determination to international supervision."

### Role of the Communist Parties

In many sections of the world antiwar militants have run into headlong conflict with not only the leaders of the social democratic and labor parties, but with the leaders of the Communist parties as well.

In this country, the CP and its sympathizers have consistently been on the right wing of the movement. The slogan which they have pushed for hardest—negotiations—has now been rejected by the antiwar movement precisely because it is too far to the right. The CP has subordinated its stand on the war to its general stance of support for "peaceful coexistence," Democratic Party politics, and reliance on such "liberal" office holders as Bobby Kennedy, and Senator Fulbright.

The role of the communist parties in other countries has been no different. They have given support to the myth of peaceful coexistence—which precludes militant demonstrations that might alienate liberal governmental figures and embarrass governments supporting the United States.

Demonstration in Quebec called by the Union Generale des Etudiants de Quebec [UGEQ], February 19, 1966



In France, the Communist Party is the dominant working class party, having a membership of 300, 000, and any radical development, like the antiwar movement, tends to take place within the framework of the communist movement. Under such circumstances the growth of the antiwar movement is greatly hampered by the official communist position and leadership. In France this is especially true since it was the French CP that did not mobilize its members to support independence for Algeria during the Algerian war, and in 1956 even voted to support the war in parliament. Today, although the leadership has called small demonstrations on Vietnam, it has done so only under pressure from the ranks of the party, especially the youth.

Serious militants within the French Communist Party (CPF) see the war issue very differently from the leadership of the party, and the Vietnam issue as well as a series of other disputes has caused a deep rift in the CP youth. An activist described developments this way: "In January, the Communist Party expelled some of the leaders of the Sorbonne Communist Youth and then dissolved the entire organization in which there were 400 or 500 students, for refusing to support Mitterand in the general elections last fall. We had distributed an open letter to Mitterand in which we demanded that he state his position on the war in Vietnam." Since this dissolution, the group has formed the Sorbonne Committee Against the War in Vietnam, and also, even more significantly, it has founded the Jeunesses Communistes Revolutionnaires (JCR), the Revolutionary Communist Youth, representing militant young people from many sections of France. The JCR has also called a week of protest in France against the war, from May 15-21, to be held coinciding with the Berkeley Vietnam Day.

In Italy, also, the official CP leadership has been under tremendous pressure to act, especially from the left wing within the party which is much stronger than the left wing in the PCF. "In this climate of deep concern over the war, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party (the largest working class organization in Italy: eight million votes) could not ignore the International Days of Protest. Even before this initiative, meetings and demonstrations had been organized by the CP . . . However, the Communist leaders have always been very careful not to allow the initiative to slip out of their control or to let the demonstrations take the form of militant anti-imperialist, instead of 'pacifist', action. For instance, during a march organized last year, a group of young participants displayed an American flag with the word 'SHAME' written on it, and finally placed it on the platform where the speakers who concluded the demonstration were standing.

The top bureaucrats of the Communist Party did their best to prevent this from being done and had to yield before strong rank and file pressure. . . .

"Other initiatives have come as a result of local actions, or actions taken outside the official line of the Communist Party. For instance, in a city in Sicily, a Youth Club named Giaime Pintor, has recently distributed 6000 copies of an anti-imperialist leaflet, which contained very militant positions. This has raised the fury of the local CP leadership, which has attacked the Pintor Club very sharply, despite the fact that communist youth are members of the club."

Even more importantly, the question of Vietnam has raised, in the Italian CP and in every other working class organization, the most fundamental issues of our day. "By watching the internal debate going on inside the Italian CP you can see that the discussion on Vietnam immediately involves the most important problems of world revolution: the colonial revolution and its relationship with the proletarian struggle in advanced capitalist countries; the so-called "peaceful co-existence" policy as applied to a concrete reality such as Vietnam; the Sino-Soviet conflict; the problem of not only bringing the Vietnam war to an end, but of how to eliminate war from the world once and forever, which is essentially the problem of the socialist revolution on a world scale. The response in growing sectors is that the fight against war is ultimately a fight against capitalism, which is the cause of war. A consciousness is growing that antiwar demonstrations are important, but at the same time it should not be forgotten that the best contribution the Italian working class could give to the antiwar campaign is that of weakening world capitalism by attacking one of its sectors: Italy's capitalism."

Thus the world-wide movement against the Vietnam war has been important not only in the crucial task of ending that war, but in raising the broader questions of the nature of capitalism and the need to oppose it. In the process, the antiwar movement has caused ferment within working class and socialist parties around the world.

Since it is the United States which is the aggressor in Vietnam, the American antiwar movement has a great international responsibility to maintain the fight here and to continue to join in the world protest. As it says in a leaflet recently distributed in Paris:

"In Berkeley, In Washington, In New York, In Paris, In Brussels, and Berlin - In the heart of imperialism young people are fighting against aggression.

"We must engage in a greater and more coordinated struggle."

# ...Sinyavsky and Daniel

(continued from pg. 6)

Karlinsky, but Karlinsky resents being threatened with trouble over a bunch of neo-Bolshevik fledglings. Moreover, the specter of political revolution repels and disturbs him. "You reformers! I suppose you'd like to see a kindly socialism, a free form of slavery . . ." He reports them to Beria's men and proceeds in his affair with Marina undisturbed.

What must have especially recommended Tertz for trial and heavy sentencing was his hilarious caricature of the secret police, in the persons of the two omnipresent modest young men in overcoats, and of Interrogator Skromnykh, representing the secret police top hierarchy. Perhaps the most ominous passage in the novel is the description of the "dread invincible army" of top police officials "relaxing at its festive meal" at Skromnykh's villa.

Tertz loves to catch the bureaucrats at home with their guard down, their masks off, at their private intrigues, dancing to Russian emigre recordings, smugly conversing in all their cynicism and downright decadence.

*The Trial Begins* is an explosive indictment of the corrupt inner life of the Soviet elite. Its potential anti-bureaucratic dynamite is amply attested to by the seven-year sentence awarded its author. Not hostile toward the Communist ideal, represented in Seryozha (although not convinced either), its author is profoundly hostile to the bureaucratic perversion of that ideal.

Why does a figure like Sinyavsky, familiar with rudiments of a Marxist critique of Soviet society, reject Marxism and turn toward despair and religious mysticism? In this he typifies a common trend in the USSR and Eastern Europe, where the rebellion against Stalinism frequently takes the form of moral idealism, humanism, existentialism.

The repulsive influence of Stalinist "Marxism" is only part of the explanation. Also, the rebel generation has no experience of the class struggle. They have not seen the rank and file workers fight for their rights, and often do not see the revolutionary potential of the working class. Daniel, for example, openly expresses pessimism about the political life of the masses in the trial proceedings. Thus, many of the young rebels are not convinced the bureaucratic crust can be shaken off.

This viewpoint is like that of the New Left in the West, and for the same reasons. Revolt is still a limited phenomenon, within student and intellectual circles, i.e., among the sons of the elite. But it is a harbinger of mass motion to come. And healthy neo-Bolshevik trends definitely exist alongside of the vague New Left-ish ones.

## Yuli M. Daniel

Daniel's talent is both more ordinary and his outlook more explicitly political than Sinyavsky's, but he is concerned with the same general themes and reflects the same general trends as we have noted in the case of Tertz. Daniel's most significant work, published under the pseudonym Arzhak, is the story "This Is Moscow Calling." (It is available in English in the anthology *Dissonant Voices in Soviet Literature*, edited by Patricia Blake and Max Hayward, Pantheon Books, 1962.)

The story begins with a decision of the Supreme Soviet announced over Radio Moscow out of a clear blue sky: "Parallel with the rise in the standard of living . . . and in accordance with the wishes of the toiling masses," the Supreme Soviet decrees a "Day of Public Murder." On this day, every citizen is granted the right, within certain limits prescribed by the decree, to murder any other citizen he wishes.

Grotesque as this may seem, the allusion is obvious. How many crimes were committed on orders from above, "publicly," in the name of socialism, and under the pretext of furthering the well-being of the toiling masses.

Arzhak voices his inner struggle, and his mood of rebellion against today's leaders. Stalin's henchmen just yesterday, they are satisfied with an explanation that explains nothing, and live as if there had been no monstrous crimes.

"Do they think that since they have desecrated the mausoleum of the mustachioed one, that's all that's required of them? No, No, No, they deserved something different!" He wonders how the same men who showed courage and heroism in the war can conduct themselves in so sickly a way when faced with the crimes of the leadership, and he decides that "they had been terrorized."

Arzhak writes that the girl who reached this con-

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clusion in the story had hurled a challenge in "the faces of huge government buildings, confronted the miles of black and white newsprint which criss-cross the country every day. She had challenged unanimous opinions of general meetings. And all the diabolic clatter of tanks which carry the gaping muzzles of guns to ceremonial parades."

The author ends by saying, "This is your world, your life, and you are a cell, a particle of it. You should not allow yourself to be intimidated. You should answer for yourself and you thereby answer for others."

In sum, these writers, who are not anti-Soviet, do turn inward, away from what Arzhak calls "this cursed and marvellous country." Writing is a kind of opium that deadens the alienation they feel. Cut off from the Soviet masses, who are not yet expressing themselves, stifled by a bureaucracy that claims to speak in the name of socialism, and repelled by the hypocrisy of Western capitalist culture, these Soviet intellectuals saw no clear way out.

### The Bureaucracy

It is hardly necessary to convince anyone (outside of chronic apologists for the Kremlin hierarchy, such as the leading spokesmen of the Communist Party U.S.A.) that the conviction of these two writers on the grounds that what they wrote "could be used profitably by enemies of Communism," was a monstrosity. To many young Americans, the transcript of their trial must read like a page out of "Mississippi justice," or a HUAC hearing.

Although Sinyavsky and Daniel saw no political goal toward which they could work, the Soviet bureaucracy immediately saw a threat to itself in the biting satire of these authors. They moved swiftly and harshly to silence these two voices which affirmed support for the state established by the Russian Revolution while simultaneously expressing a feeling that the revolution was betrayed by the later development of Soviet society.

If the leaders of the Soviet Union were secure in their position they could afford to let men such as Sinyavsky and Daniel speak out, but their social roots are not deep, and the doubts and criticisms expressed by these two authors came too close to the truth for the bureaucrats to feel comfortable.

Despite the fact that the bureaucracy pretends to speak in the name of Marxism and Soviet power, their reactionary policies do not represent the essence of the Soviet state. The tremendous economic, social and cultural gains made possible by the nationalized property forms and the planned economy, have been achieved *in spite of*, not because of, this parasitic layer of functionaries. Yet, at the same time, in order to preserve its own power base, the bureau-

### "WE CALL ON THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO REVERSE THE CONVICTION."

For several reasons the conviction of Sinyavsky and Daniel is itself more profitable to the enemies of communism than anything they have written could ever be:

The convictions were obtained at a semisecret trial. Foreign Journalists, including those from Marxist periodicals published outside the U.S.S.R., were excluded from the trial.

In prosecuting the pair, the Soviet authorities acted as though public criticism of the Soviet Union is a danger to its survival. This is nonsense in the fiftieth year of Soviet power.

Socialism in Western countries will never win a majority unless the people can be convinced that it is not hostile to the traditions of civil liberty and representative democracy. The convictions tend to perpetuate the myth that socialism and democracy are incompatible.

The conviction of Sinyavsky and Daniel is a setback in the heroic struggle of the Soviet people to repudiate the terrible legacy of Stalinism. As such, it gives aid and comfort to hard-line cold warriors everywhere and is a disservice to the cause of all freedom-seeking peoples.

For the sake of justice and common sense, we call on the Soviet authorities to reverse the conviction.

From a Statement by the Wayne State University  
Dubois Club, April 1966

cracy is compelled to protect these advances and is forced to resist attempts by capitalism to regain control of the Soviet workers state.

This contradictory character of the Soviet Union places a dual responsibility on revolutionary socialists—both to support the Soviet state and the property relations established by the Revolution, and to criticize the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy and work for the day when working class democracy will be restored.

### International Protest

In this spirit there has been an admirable rallying to the defense of Sinyavsky and Daniel. Not only prominent individual radicals and intellectuals in many lands but also a number of Communist parties, especially in Western Europe, have spoken out for free speech and artistic freedom in the Soviet Union.

Particularly emphatic was the statement by the leader of the Austrian Communist Party, Erwin Scharf: "Our Soviet friends ought to consider that the worst enemies of Communism, who are massacring tens of thousands of Communists in Indo-

nesia and Vietnam, are going to be able, after this verdict, to ridicule the Soviet guarantees of liberty and humanism."

(The mention of Vietnam underscores a glaring irony. The Soviet leaders are so ferocious and uncompromising in fighting "bourgeois ideology" in the persons of critical writers at home. Yet they are a marvel of moderation and "reasonableness" when the full might of bourgeois military force is unleashed in daily criminal attacks against the workers' state of North Vietnam. If only they'd show such ferocity there, where it's needed for the cause of socialism!)

The denunciation of the trial by the DuBois Club at Wayne State University is another excellent statement. (See box.) Above all, it recognizes the Sinyavsky-Daniel case as part of "the heroic struggle of the Soviet people to repudiate the terrible legacy of Stalinism," a legacy that is only "profitable to the enemies of communism."

Encouraged by the protests of pro-Soviet Communists, intellectuals in the U. S. S. R. have also spoken out in defense of the two condemned writers. Especially striking was the demonstration by Moscow students held last December 5, after the writers had been detained for several months. The protesters demanded an open public trial. That demonstration, the first public protest in the post-Stalin period with clear and immediate political aims, underlined the fact that there are groups of Soviet youth today ready to engage in open defiance of the regime, despite the grave material reprisals which that entails.

In striking contrast to other Communist parties, the CPUSA, through its paper, *The Worker*, and its leading spokesman, Gus Hall, has taken an abominable stand on this case. It has accepted and repeated the Soviet government's charges that Sinyavsky and Daniel are traitors, cold warriors, anti-Semites, practically fascists . . . and bad writers to boot!

### De-Stalinization

The grossest apology for the jailing of Sinyavsky and Daniel is the argument that they are not even writers, but just anti-Soviet propagandists. Few outside of Soviet officialdom peddle this absurdity. But there is a far more subtle apology for the Kremlin action, namely, that we shouldn't protest this bad development because over-all conditions in the USSR are gradually improving. After all, in Stalin's day, these writers might have been shot.

Many have mistaken the de-Stalinization campaign of the past decade for a process of self-reform that would eventually give full democracy to the Soviet people. The corollary of this view is to

accept uncritically the post-Stalin leadership and its policies. But there is a distinction between liberalization and real democratization.

De-Stalinization has been a liberalization, a loosening of controls, while controls remained. It has been a pattern of partial concessions from above in response to pressure from below. But the events surrounding the 23rd Congress show that the hand that gives can also take away. The Sinyavsky-Daniel trial a month or so before the congress, together with moves for the partial rehabilitation of Stalin, must be seen as part of a general crackdown on political and intellectual ferment.

The de-Stalinization process has created too many problems for the bureaucratic elite; there has been too much probing and criticism; the privileged position of the functionary set has been endangered. Demands have arisen for a thorough accounting of how Stalinism developed, followed by demands for punishment of all those connected with Stalin's regime of terror – a direct threat to the present leaders. Moreover, curiosity and interest in non-Stalinist tendencies in the Russian revolutionary tradition have grown.

Symptomatic of bureaucratic distress was the speech of Georgian party secretary Sturua, made in Stalin's homeland on the eve of the 23rd Congress. There had been too much emphasis on the "shady side of life" under Stalin, said Sturua, and not enough on the positive accomplishments. This had given rise to "nihilism, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and political indifference." Moreover, he said, some very zealous critics had even tried to use the de-Stalinization campaign to rehabilitate Trotskyism, right-wing deviationism, bourgeois nationalism, and other "anti-Leninist" ideological trends.

### The Intellectual Underground

The kind of thing Sturua was talking about may be seen in the recent arrest and trial of a group of Leningrad students who had published a left-oppositionist journal called *Kolokol*, a title of the anti-Tsarist underground publication of the old Russian revolutionary Alexander Herzen. The group associated with *Kolokol* was composed of two or three hundred persons, most of them chemists or students of chemistry. The group was headed by Komosol (Young Communist League) leaders, and their work of political criticism began on the basis of a much smaller study group which called itself the "Circle of Communards" and studied Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

The trial of the group involved dozens of defendants. Some openly stated in court that they considered their ideas correct, while admitting they

may have been wrong in resorting to underground methods. One young girl, questioned by the judges on the aims of the organization, replied: "The first thing is to send all of you to work."

The organization had appeared first in Leningrad, then spread to other cities, including Ivanovo-Voznesensk, and other important centers such as Omsk and Novosibirsk. This is the first time in decades that an opposition organization extending to several cities has appeared in the USSR.

And it is not the only such group. An underground literary organization calling itself S. M. O. G. and extending to several cities came to light in 1956. It apparently resulted from a unification of student groups that have issued mimeographed literary journals, more than a dozen over the past decade at various Soviet universities. S. M. O. G. called attention to itself in Moscow by holding several public demonstrations in 1965, including the one on December 5 in support of Sinyavsky and Daniel. The organization was attacked in *Pravda* last June by top Komsomol functionary Sergei Pavlov.

Such developments are occurring in other workers' states as well. Recently in Poland a group of oppositionists at Warsaw University were sentenced to prison terms. The group centered around the young Warsaw University instructor Karol Modzelewski, son of a late ambassador of the Polish Communist regime. Modzelewski played a role in the 1956 anti-Stalinist revolt in Warsaw. More recently, in-

fluenced by conditions in the Italian Communist Party, he raised the demand for free discussion of different tendencies within the Polish CP. Modzelewski's grouping circulated a hundred-page program, criticizing bureaucratic privilege from a Marxist viewpoint and advocating workers democracy.

A similar development involving the sons of the Soviet bureaucracy was described by Isaac Deutscher in the July-August 1965 *Young Socialist*.

This is the kind of intellectual-political ferment that has flowed from the liberalization; and it points toward a thorough, anti-bureaucratic democratization. Sinyavsky and Daniel, in their writings and activities, are symptoms of this general trend, and it is precisely because they are not isolated individuals that the Soviet bureaucracy reacted so strongly to their biting satires.

Although the bureaucracy remains in control and resorts to harsh repression to prevent the development of groups with a revolutionary perspective, in the long run it will not be able to solve the most difficult and complex problems facing Soviet society. The construction of an anti-bureaucratic vanguard can be retarded, but not prevented, and the ferment now brewing within the workers' states will continue. The best of the new generation of rebels will, like Tertz's Seryozha, find their way to revolutionary Marxism.

## 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. 535-6932

U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2326 Grant St., tel. 843-6165

Oakland City College (Merritt Campus): Jaimey Allen, 3108-B Harper St., Oakland, Calif., tel. 845-2149

BOSTON: YSA, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Cambridge, Mass., tel. 536-6981

Boston U.: Barbara Mutnick, 241 River St., Cambridge, tel. 547-4532

Harvard-Radcliffe: 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, tel. 868-6617

M.I.T.: Alex Chis, 65 Brookline St., Cambridge, tel. 491-7042

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

Kansas U.: YSA, c/o Richard Hill, 1134 Ohio, Lawrence, Kans., tel. UI 3-8902

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

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN 9-4953

Los Angeles City College: Elizabeth Myers, 642 Maltman Ave., tel. NO 3-0387 or NO 5-6527

UCLA: Mike Goldman, tel. 338-4802

Cal. State-L. A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. WE 1-4779

U. of Cal. Riverside: Bob Taves, 3644 14th St., tel. 686-5707

MADISON (Wisc.): YSA, 204 Marion St., tel. 256-0857

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: YSA, c/o Charlie Bolduc, 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls., Minn., tel. FE 2-7781

U. of Minn.: Larry Seigle, 1608 5th St., Mpls., tel. 339-1864

NEW YORK-DOWNTOWN: YSA, 873 Broadway, tel. 982-6051

NYU: Albert Hinton, 52 E. 1st St., Apt. 8, New York

NEW YORK-UPTOWN: YSA, c/o Caroline Jenness, 516 E. 11th St., tel. 982-1846

N. Y. City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., \*3e, tel. CI 6-2348

Columbia U.: Seman Bassin, 422 Hartley Hall, Columbia U., tel. MO 3-6600

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, P. O. Box 7593, tel. EV 2-6650

PORTLAND: YSA, c/o Bill Blau, P. O. Box 17154, Kenton Station, Portland, Oregon tel. 289-4223

SAN DIEGO: YSA, 1853 Irving, tel. 239-1813

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, c/o Les Evans, 652-B Clayton St., tel. HE 1-6827

San Francisco State: Bob Davis, 724-A Masonic St., tel. 931-8625

San Francisco City College: Jim Kendrick, 4077-A, 18th St., tel. 863-5531

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Peer Vinther, 188 S. 14th St., \*2, tel. 294-2105

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

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Jan Tangen, 1823 19th St., N. W., tel. 462-0825

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

# ...New Radicals

(continued from pg. 15)

and build a new one, we must try and live in a manner compatible with the future society.

One of the particular forms that this idea takes is the setting up of "counter communities." This concept is positive inasmuch as it is based on the assumption of complete independence from the ruling capitalist class and its institutions.

It is impossible, however, to create any kind of "hot house" variety of the future society today. One of the prerequisites for creating the new society is to take the power and control over the nation out of the hands of a tiny propertied class and put it in the hands of the overwhelming majority. This is not an easy transformation to accomplish, and until it is, the task of revolutionaries is to build the kind of movement that can get us from here to there, not to attempt the construction of a distorted image of future society under present circumstances.

## Social Theory and Historical Experience

This brings us to the last of the propositions. There is a strong sentiment among the new radicals that an understanding of social theory and a knowledge of historical experience are not useful tools in creating the revolutionary movement necessary to change this society. The lessons and experiences of past social movements are rejected for a more pragmatic trust in direct and immediate experiences.

This anti-intellectual attitude is the single greatest deficiency in the thinking and attitude of many campus radicals. Why shouldn't we, as revolutionaries who want to dedicate ourselves to the task of replacing this system with a new one, apply historical experience and analysis to our work?

A careful analysis of the nature of the capitalist system, of its defects, and of the forces which can fight it, is necessary even if we are to begin to change the system. It is clear from a study of history, for example, that there have been previous periods when the workers were quiescent and conservative, but they moved out of these periods to become an explosive and powerful force against this system.

Without an understanding of the potential role of the Negro people and of the white working class it is impossible to take the long view that is necessary for a realistic revolutionary perspective in this country. It is also impossible to see clearly the importance of the movements which are objectively directed against the system today—the antiwar movement and the Negro struggle.

It is essential for revolutionaries to participate actively in all the struggles against aspects of the

capitalist system, even though these precede a mass upsurge. Victories and gains made by partial struggles against the system strengthen the hand of the working class for the day of final reckoning with the country's rulers.

This is a long range perspective, not one aimed at transforming this society overnight. The program of revolutionary socialism is based on experience and a realistic appraisal of the social dynamics in this country.

A mass revolutionary workers movement is not on the scene today, but our program is based on the fact that the contradictions which will produce such a movement are inherent in capitalism itself.

The burden of proof, however, is not on the revolutionaries to prove that the political situation in this country is transitory and can change rapidly; it is on those who, in the face of half a century of wars, revolutions and economic convulsions, believe the present system to be eternal. The burden of proof is on those who believe that the working class in this country will be immune to the world shaking events of our epoch.

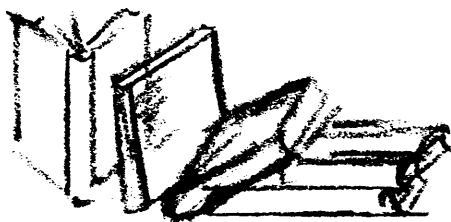
It is not the revolutionary socialists who are doomed to failure and isolation for counting on the forces within our society that can effectively change society; rather it is those who would take forces that cannot possibly be successful when it comes to a showdown with the country's rulers, who must face the possibility of defeat.

Ours is an optimistic and realistic perspective. Malcolm X used to tell black people that they should look around the world and see themselves as part of a struggling majority. "Here in America," he said, "we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that—that we're a minority. By thinking we're a minority, we struggle like a minority. We struggle like we're an underdog. We struggle like all of the odds are against us. . . .

"It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. Not just look around in Harlem or New York, or Mississippi, or America—we have got to look around this earth. We don't know where we stand until we know where America stands . . . .

"And when you find out she's not invincible, you don't approach her like you're dealing with someone who's invincible."

While recognizing the forces *within* American society that are going to change it, we can likewise draw inspiration from revolutions in the rest of the world and see ourselves as part of the revolutionary majority who are going to make this planet fit to live on.



## The ABC of Communism

(The *ABC of Communism*, Nikolai Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1966, 422 pages, \$2.95.)

The reappearance of an English translation of *The ABC of Communism* is a significant event. For three decades it has been unavailable in the U. S. and suppressed in the Soviet Union. Written in 1919 under the direction of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the purpose of the book was to explain the ideas of the Bolshevik Party to "every worker or peasant who desires to acquaint himself with the party program."

It's two authors, N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, were among the most talented of the Russian economists and theoreticians. Bukharin was head of the Communist International from 1926 to 1929. Preobrazhensky was Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In the early 1920's the two engaged in a deep going and now famous controversy on economic policy in the Soviet Union. Both died in the 1930's in the Stalin purges.

*The ABC of Communism* offers those who are interested in the politics of revolutionary socialism an unusual opportunity to become acquainted with the thinking of those who lead the first successful working class revolution. While not oversimplifying the ideas of the Bolsheviks, the volume lives up to its subtitle—*A Popular Explanation of the Program of the Communist Party of Russia*. It is readable and easy to understand which is why Communists in Russia and all over the world used it as a handbook of Marxist ideas during the twenties and early thirties.

The sections by Bukharin on the Marxist view of capitalism as an

anarchical and unviable system present one of the clearest and most readable explanations of the functioning of capitalist production and its logical consequences that is available today. In forty-two pages Bukharin outlines Marxist economic concepts with such clarity and succinctness that his reputation as a great popularizer will be fully appreciated. He followed in the tradition of the Marxists of the earlier generation, Plekhanov and Kautsky, who had the rare ability of placing the most difficult concepts into easily understood language.

### From the Bolsheviks to the CPUSA

To understand the revolutionary nature of the program discussed in *The ABC of Communism* it is instructive to compare the basic ideas it presents with the recently published *New Program of the Communist Party U. S. A. (A Draft)*. A comparison of the two works shows that the U. S. Communist Party has strayed a long way from some of the most basic Bolshevik principles.

This can be seen most clearly in the positions taken on one of the most basic questions—that of revolution. In the *ABC of Communism* Bukharin presents the position of revolutionary socialists. He asserts, ". . . the bourgeoisie will not abandon its position without a fight. For the bourgeoisie, communism signifies the loss of its former power, the loss of its 'freedom' to extort blood and sweat from the workers; the loss of its right to rent, interest and profit. Consequently, the communist transformation of society is fiercely resisted by the exploiters." From this evaluation it follows that when a majority demonstrates that it wants socialism, it will be forced to

defend itself to accomplish the transformation of society. The deposed classes will try to militarily prevent the aims of the majority from being realized.

The new program of the Communist Party rejects Bukharin's conception of social transformation altogether. Instead it states, "We believe the democratic transformation can be effected through the Constitutional process and constitutionally established institutions. The Constitution contains within its own provisions, especially those for its amendment, the flexibility that allows for a democratic majority to make *the most fundamental alterations* in the economic and social order . . ." (emphasis added). For those who might be sceptical the draft continues, "Unthinkable? There is a precedent for it in the Constitutional amendment abolishing slave property, which in its day was just as sacrosanct by law and custom as capitalist property is today."

The historical example is a good one, but it corroborates the view of revolutionary socialism rather than that of the Communist Party. Following the election of Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860, the southern slavocracy went into open military revolt against the elected government showing its utter contempt for "the Constitutional process and Constitutionally established institutions," and attempted to overturn the duly elected authorities in order to protect its peculiar form of private property—slavery. Is the Communist Party by chance ignorant of the fact that slavery was abolished only after five years of civil war involving hundreds of thousands of combatants? What does such a transformation have in common with the property owning class allowing "a democratic majority to make the most fundamental alternations in the economic and social system?"

Speaking for the revolutionists Bukharin maintained that the ruling class today will respond to the legal confiscation of its property in the same manner as the southern slavocracy when it felt its property threatened. He wrote that, "the work-

ing class must organize to oppose such violence, to defend the will of the majority against the old social order, to establish itself as the ruling class."

### Capitalism and War

Another example of the fundamental disagreement between the Communist Party draft program and the early Bolshevik program is illustrated by the two different views of the causes of war. Bukharin wrote that, "Just as a tiger cannot live upon grass, so financial capital cannot exist without a policy of conquest, spoilation, violence and war. The essential desire of every one of the financial capitalist state trusts is to dominate the world; to establish a world empire, wherein the small group of capitalists belonging to the victorious nations shall hold undivided sway."

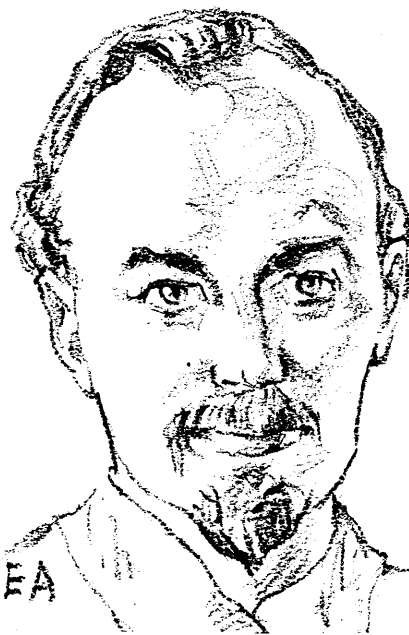
This concept is rejected by the Communist Party draft which states that, "If global war is averted, if U. S. imperialist aggression against the colonial revolutions is checked and beaten back, if the fuse is pulled from such danger spots as West Germany, then we foresee the possibility of a more stable peaceful coexistence."

### Peaceful Coexistence

This conception of a "peaceful" capitalist government is seen by the Communist Party draft program as the greatest feasible goal although socialism is, after all, desirable. The draft program goes on to state, "For the American people, as for all the world's people to realize the historic possibility of peaceful coexistence is *the supreme challenge* of the age." (emphasis added).

Bukharin rejects such notions. War is an inherent, not an accidental, superficial or secondary characteristic of capitalism. Consequently, the "supreme challenge" for socialists is not the utopian aim of attempting to convince the ruling class to conduct its foreign policy more peaceably, but rather to abolish the rule of this class altogether.

A careful examination and critical comparison of the Communist Party draft program and *The ABC of Communism* reveals that the underlying disagreement between the two revolves around the question of whether the perspective of a world socialist revolution is a realizable possibility during this age. To this question Bukharin answers with an emphatic, "YES!" It is the conscious rejection of this perspective that marks the Communist Party draft program and which places it in contraposition to the ideas of Bolshevism.



Nikolai Bukharin

Implicit within the *ABC of Communism* is the reason why the position of the American Communist Party is so different from the program of Bolshevism, and why the *ABC of Communism* has been suppressed in the Soviet Union. Already by 1919 a privileged section of public officials and Communist Party functionaries within the Soviet Union was beginning to strengthen its influence over the Bolshevik party's apparatus and the state machinery.

### Bureaucracy and the Soviet Power

In the section of *ABC of Communism* entitled, "Bureaucracy and the Soviet Power" Bukharin antici-

pated the events that would ultimately lead to the outright rejection of a revolutionary perspective. After examining the practical problems facing the first workers state in 1919, the poverty, isolation, chaos and economic blockade, he wrote with great forboding, ". . . these circumstances make our work extremely difficult, and tend to a certain degree to promote the reintroduction of bureaucracy into the Soviet system. This is a grave danger to the proletariat. The workers did not destroy the old official ridden state with the intention of allowing it to grow up again from new roots. Our party, therefore, must do its utmost to avert this danger."

It was precisely the inability to "avert this danger" which led the Russian Communist Party, and those looking to the Stalin leadership for political guidance, to reject those ideas which are so eloquently presented within the pages of *The ABC of Communism*.

Not only did the ideas of revolutionary socialism suffer at the hands of Russia's new leaders, but also those individuals holding such "deviations." As a result, the Bolshevik party was destroyed. Of the 1,966 delegates who attended the Communist Party congress of 1934, 1,108 were murdered. Over seventy percent of the Central Committee met the same fate.

Bukharin and Preobrazhensky did not escape the blood bath. In 1938, Bukharin was brought to trial and accused of being an agent of Hitler, the Mikado, British Military Intelligence and the Polish *Deuxieme Bureau*. In 1937 Preobrazhensky met an unknown death.

The *ABC of Communism* at that time had gone through eighteen printings within the Soviet Union alone. Isaac Deutscher writes in his biography of Stalin, "Until the early thirties Russian and European Communists used to draw their arguments from Bukharin's writings rather than from Stalin's. Bukharin's two books, *The ABC of Communism* and his *Historical Materialism* were the two most important standard books of Communist propaganda." *The ABC of Communism*

was suppressed at the time of the Moscow trials and remains suppressed today within the Soviet Union precisely because it so articulately puts forward the ideas of Bolshevism which the present leadership has great cause to fear.

It is not accidental that *The ABC of Communism* is once more available in English after thirty years. Today we are experiencing a re-emergence of mass action directed against the U.S. government and the greatest interest in revolutionary socialist thought seen in the U.S. since the late 1940's. In this atmosphere *The ABC of Communism* can again serve as a good introduction to socialist ideas for prospective revolutionaries.

—DAN STYRON

## *The Dynamics of American History*

(*Marxist Essays in American History*. Edited by R. Himmel. Introduction by George Novack. Merit Publishers, New York, 1966, 128 pp., \$1.95)

Few would contradict the central importance of the United States in contemporary world history, and few would deny that what happens on American soil can determine the fate of all mankind. Is it not amazing then that no adequate Marxist history of the United States has been written to this date? However close academic historians have come to the truth, they always seem to fall short, substituting "sectional" or ideological "factors," or one of the many liberal myths for concrete historical analysis.

*Essays* is no substitute for a complete Marxist history. But this collection of articles from the *International Socialist Review* and its predecessors (*New International* and *Fourth International*) is the next best thing. A majority of the articles were written by George Novack (William F. Warde) and the remainder by several other socialist writers.

Composed over a period of 30

years, some were originally anniversary articles or book reviews; others are addressed to debates current in the liberal and academic world; some were products of original research. Only one section, Novack's introduction, was planned to be part of this book. Thus there is an understandable unevenness about the collection.

Novack leaves his imprint as a master of the historical materialist method on the entire work. His studies of the precapitalist formations—Indian communal democracy and Negro slavery—bring out the essential role these systems played: the one as an obstacle to expanding capitalism which had to be destroyed; the other as a brutal but inevitable conjuncture of it.

Continuing to describe the main movements of the various classes, Novack discusses in the War of Independence, the struggle between the planters and the rising industrialists from 1789-1865, and the Reconstruction period after the civil war.

Novack and Harry Frankel (who contributes a fascinating series on the Hamilton period of 1789-1800 and the Jackson period of 1828-1836) demolish the myth that the "democratic frontier" essentially determined the course of early U.S. experience.

Through his review of two books by M. Josephson (often required reading in modern universities), Novack separates the essential from the accidental in the capitalist two-party system. In an article, "The Rise and Fall of Progressivism," he explains the failure of the capitalist third party experiments. He concludes that, as in the days of Jefferson and Lincoln, the problems of

America in our epoch cannot be solved with less than a social revolution.

One aspect which is lacking in *Essays* (and would most certainly be included in a complete Marxist history written today) is a description of the years 1876-1896 in the South. Two points are worth noting: (1) Although the Republican party in the South was virtually outlawed in this period, Negroes were permitted to vote for Democrats and even to hold positions in Congress. (2) Only after the capitalist class felt its hegemony threatened by the Populist upsurge (based on the black and white agrarian-labor revolt of the 1890's) did it embark on its total Jim Crow policy, removing the Southern black man from politics altogether and at the same time disfranchising a sizable fraction of poor whites.

Besides the articles mentioned above, the book contains superb biographical sketches of Tom Paine and "John Brown—Revolutionary Terrorist." J. R. Johnson writes of the Negro's role in returning the sparks of social revolution from France via Haiti to the American South. J. G. Wright contributes an entertaining sketch of the forces behind the "splendid little war" of 1898 which made the U.S. an imperialist power, and Joyce Cowley describes the women abolitionists who pioneered in the struggle for the right to vote.

For any student of American history interested in understanding the dynamics of the development of our society, this new collection of *Essays* will prove invaluable.

—JAN GARRETT

Women demand the right to vote, 1866.



# ...Notes

(continued from pg. 2)

400 students and intellectuals "sat in" on March 11 at the Capuchin monastery in an attempt to hold a "free assembly" of their organization. Nearly forty intellectuals were arrested and heavily fined. In demonstrations which followed, thousands of students protested and clashed with police. As a result the University of Barcelona was closed down.

The movement has spread to other universities including the University of Madrid where demonstrators have been attacked by the police. In one instance many students were injured when fifty mounted policemen charged on a crowd. The students were carrying placards calling for a "democratic Spain," "a democratic university," and "solidarity with Barcelona."

**Japan:** The announcement of a tuition increase started a prolonged student strike at Waseda University in Tokyo. The boycott which began on January 20 has been accompanied by rallies and snake dances. In order to hold their demonstrations the students have had to fight thugs and cops. In one case the university mobilized a squad of 300 "loyal" students to attack a picket line. Approximately 2,000 students rallied to repulse the attack.

When the students held a mass rally in front of the administration building, the university president responded by calling in 2,500 cops who invaded the campus, evicting students and arresting a student leader. The students fought back with a "sit-in" of 1,000 which resulted in the arrest of 200 students.

The continuation of the boycott in the face of attacks has forced the twelve directors of the university to announce their resignation.

In describing the strike an article in one of the big

Women's March in New York, May 7, 1966



Tokyo dailies commented that "the students deeply distrust the school administrators and are increasingly dissatisfied and disillusioned over conditions at the university . . . Waseda was originally conceived as an independent entity to pursue the ultimate truth, but today the students feel, it is only serving the wishes of industry."

**TOO GREEDY FOR EVEN THEIR OWN GOOD:** Presidential advisor Gardner Ackley told businessmen at the annual National Chamber of Commerce meeting that profits may be too high even for the good of "business" itself.

Official government policy is that both labor and business must cooperate "equally" to fight inflation by holding down prices, profits, and wages. What worries Ackley is the threat of a labor rebellion when workers see just how unequal this "cooperation" has been. He asked his fellow business men, "Does anyone imagine that labor will continue to show moderation in its wage demands when prices and profit margins are continually rising."

Profits after taxes in the final quarter of last year were at a record annual rate of \$45.9 billion, compared to \$24.4 in the first quarter of 1961! According to Ackley this is the "highest sustained rate of return on owners' equity in our modern history."

**BIG LAUGH:** A Poor People's Congress called by Walter Reuther's Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty ended in chaos April 14 when the delegates hooted down Sargent Shriver as he attempted to defend his war on poverty. Before the speech, aids had warned the antipoverty director that rebellious delegates characterized his program as "one big laugh." The delegates made it clear that for them it is not so funny that the war on poverty is a joke. One woman was applauded when she shouted that after the poverty money is spent, the rich are going to be richer and "I'll still be receiving my welfare check."

**WOMEN'S MARCH:** Women of all ages participated in a spirited march and rally to "BRING OUR MEN HOME NOW" in New York on May 7. The high point of the demonstration came when the marchers talked with and leafleted crowds of shoppers along 34th Street. The march ended up at the N. Y. bus terminal where many servicemen were on their way to and from Fort Dix. As the demonstrators marched around the terminal they passed out leaflets and chanted, "Support our men in Vietnam, bring them home now."

**BIG BROTHER WATCHES OVER FBI TOO:** According to a recent *N. Y. Times* article, FBI employees have a very high turnover partly due



to dislike of the bureau's surveillance over their private after-hour activities. This is not a security measure according to Bureau spokesmen. One explained it this way: "We have hundreds of young men and women coming to work for the FBI in Washington. We must be sure their parents can be confident that they and their colleagues are living under exemplary standards." Employees are questioned in detail about their relations with the opposite sex and are required to report on "indiscretions" of others.

**A VICTORY AGAINST TRAVEL BANS:** The three young people who were indicted for organizing a student trip to Cuba have been acquitted. Judge Zavatt ruled that those who traveled to Cuba did not break any law. Freedom to travel is still in jeopardy though, for Senator Eastland of the judiciary committee has announced that a bill to give the State Department power to limit freedom of travel will be introduced in Congress before adjournment.

**YSA CHAPTERS PLEDGE RECORD \$6700 FOR SPRING FUND DRIVE:** The YSA National Convention voted to raise \$6700 in the spring fund drive to cover the costs of new pamphlets, the *Young Socialist*, and YSA activities. As the scoreboard shows, \$6775 has been pledged with \$3062.40 already sent in.

AREA	PLEGGED	PAID IN
Ann Arbor	250	
Berkeley	600	288.00
Boston	850	368.00
Chicago	1000	446.20
Cleveland	450	112.50
Detroit	350	125.00
Kansas		50.00
Los Angeles	400	41.00
Madison	250	200.00
New York—Downtown	450	300.00
New York—Uptown	675	362.00
Philadelphia	250	134.05
San Diego	50	
San Francisco	350	250.65
San Jose	125	85.00
Seattle	50	
Twin Cities	475	225.00
Washington D.C.	200	75.00
Totals	6775	3062.40

**UNIVERSITIES AND THE WAR—NEW ANTI-WAR LITERATURE:** A two part article on the Michigan State University Vietnam project and its role in propping up Diem appears in the February and March issues of *Viet Report*. It shows how professors and police specialists in the MSU group helped to set up and arm Diem's police state apparatus. For copies write to 133 W. 72nd St., N. Y.

The *Ramparts* magazine article, "The University on the Make (or how MSU helped arm Madame Nhu)" is now well known. If you haven't already read it, the April issue may be obtained by writing to 301 Broadway, San Francisco, Calif. 94133.

*Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam* is a new pamphlet by two students who discovered a germ warfare research project at the U. of Pennsylvania. It describes both the research and the student protest against it. It is a good pamphlet to sell on anti-war literature tables. Order single copies or bulk from the Philadelphia Committee To End the War in Vietnam, 288 Buckingham Pl., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

New York marchers express their solidarity with the Dominican struggle against U.S. aggression.



**300 MARCH IN SUPPORT OF DOMINICAN REVOLUTION:** A spirited march and rally commemorating the first anniversary of the uprising in the Dominican Republic was held in New York on April 24. A crowd of 300—mostly Dominicans with some Puerto Ricans and North Americans—marched up Broadway and listened to speeches by Norman Pietri, head of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement, and representatives of Dominican, Puerto Rican, Panamanian, and North American organizations. In his talk, which was the highlight of the rally, Norman Pietri called for a united Latin American revolutionary movement against imperialism. The demonstration was sponsored by the Dominican Constitutionalist Front and the New York chapter of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement.

**NEW FREE BROCHURE;** If you want to know about the Young Socialist Alliance, send for the new brochure—"Introducing the YSA." Write to Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

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