

Fire-Bombing of SWP Evokes Wide Protest

NEW YORK — Immediately after the Sept. 29 fire-bombing of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, Judy White, SWP candidate for governor, told newsmen:

"If the right-wing terrorists think they can intimidate us by such tactics, they are mistaken. We intend to continue our opposition to American intervention in Vietnam and our opposition to Johnson's escalation of the war. We will continue to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

"We appeal to all opponents of the war in Vietnam to rally with expressions of solidarity against the pattern of violence being used in hope of silencing opposition to Johnson's drive toward a war with China and a possible nuclear catastrophe. Answer the terrorists by closing ranks."

The fire-bombing occurred at approximately 5:40 a.m. Between two and four gasoline bombs were hurled at the windows of the SWP offices by four unidentified men. Police said a witness told them he had seen the men lighting the bottles in the street below the headquarters, which are on the second floor.

The bombs hit one window in the national office of the SWP and one in the editorial office of *The Militant* which is immediately adjacent. The bombs failed to break the windows, but the one that hit the window in the SWP office set fire to the building and the entire window frame had to be chopped out by firemen. Fortunately, no one was injured although workers were already coming into the building.

According to the police, several people saw the four men who hurled the bombs and fled on foot, but none would be able to identify them.

The response of the antiwar and radical forces was immediate and encouraging. In the hours following the attack, statements of solidarity were issued by a wide range of organizations and public figures. (See page 4.)

In her public statement, Judy White pointed out that the fire-bombing was part of a clearly established national pattern of such right-wing attacks. She pointed to the several attacks on



Photo by Finer

SURVEYS DAMAGE. Judy White, Socialist Workers nominee for Governor of New York, examines area of SWP national office where fire-bomb struck.

the Communist Party headquarters, the bombing of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs headquarters in San Francisco and the bombing of the Berkeley Vietnam Day headquarters.

All of this, she said, is part of the growing pattern of violence bred by the Washington warmakers, a pattern that received shocking expression when a fanatical anti-communist walked into the Detroit headquarters of the

Socialist Workers Party last spring and shot three young men, killing one and wounding two.

The fire-bombing did not seriously interfere with the functioning of the SWP or *The Militant*. The next evening, the Militant Labor Forum, which shares space on the same floor, held a large, successful meeting in solidarity with Hugo Blanco and other victims of political repression in Latin America.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 36 Monday, October 10, 1966 Price 10c

Demands Lindsay Act on Bombings

NEW YORK — At a press conference here Sept. 29, Judy White, Socialist Workers nominee for governor, scored Mayor Lindsay for failing to speak out against the ultra-rightists who bombed the headquarters of the Communist Party and fire-bombed the offices of the Socialist Workers Party.

The press conference was held at the SWP headquarters shortly after the bombing. Cameramen and reporters were present from ABC-TV, NBC-TV and CBS-TV. There were reporters from the Associated Press, the *New York Times* and *The Worker*.

Several of the reporters tried to elicit from Miss White the precise moves she expected Mayor Lindsay and the police to make. Explaining this was a police matter, she insisted the basic problem was that the city administration must demonstrate it recognizes

the gravity of such crimes and put its enormous resources into play to cope with the problem.

Mayor Lindsay's refusal to speak out on the issue, she insisted, only encourages those who perpetrate such deeds.

It was further suggested to the newsmen that they simply consider what measures might be taken if the mayor's office were fire-bombed in a similar way.

In a telephone interview with CBS-radio, Miss White said she was certain that the fact her campaign is centered on opposition to the Vietnam war was clearly a factor in the attack.

In her discussion with the reporters, she explained the pattern of attacks that have occurred on antiwar and left-wing groups and emphasized that not a single person has been apprehended. "They haven't even come up with a single suspect," she said.

Johnson's Attack On GE Workers

An Editorial

President Johnson's intervention to force postponement of the General Electric strike constitutes one more threat to the independence of the trade union movement.

The government intervention is on behalf of the giant electrical monopoly. Particularly sinister is Johnson's jingoistic demagoguery about Vietnam war production.

For a long time now, U.S. corporations have relied on government intervention to hamstring the unions and thwart their legitimate demands. This was given an added twist with Johnson's insistence on his phony wage guidelines which would freeze real wages by tying them to productivity rather than to the rising cost of living, and would do so without regard to soaring corporation profits.

The present moves by the Johnson administration to dictate the terms of the GE settlement, if successful, will mean the workers will be cheated out of an adequate wage raise and — of decisive importance — a wage-escalator clause so essential to cope with fast rising prices.

If the flag-waving demagoguery about the Vietnam war is permitted to go unchallenged, it will mean that from now on every union demand, no matter how modest, will be greeted with the refrain: "Don't you know there's a war on!" It will become a major weapon in the drive to curb strikes. This is one more reason why labor should oppose the war in Vietnam.

The walkout of 20,000 GE workers in defiance of Johnson shows the rank and file is ready to fight for its rights. However, if the officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and those associated with them, continue to go along with Johnson on his fake Vietnam "emergency," labor will pay a very heavy price.

Joins Independents Urging Antiwar Vote

A. J. Muste Endorses SWP Slate

The Rev. A. J. Muste, dean of American pacifism, has joined with other independent voters in endorsing the Socialist Workers gubernatorial ticket as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war. Rev. Muste is chairman

of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and chairman of the national antiwar November 8 Mobilization.

Others who have endorsed the SWP slate as a means of protesting the war include such figures as Edward Keating, editor of *Ramparts*; Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*; literary critic, Maxwell Geismar; Latin American authority, John Gerassi; and Felix McGowan, former Maryknoll priest.

Oppose War

The SWP campaign committee has asked independent voters to lend their names to a newspaper advertisement, to be published the last week of the campaign. The ad will state that while they may not agree with other planks in the SWP platform, the sponsors are asking support for the ticket as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war.

Nearly a hundred independent voters have already given their

endorsement to the ad. Among the recent ones, with organizations listed for identification purposes, are:

Peter Bobrick, Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam; Prof. Vernon of Columbia University; Simone A. Fidak, Women Strike for Peace; Donna Gould, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Nick Gruenberg, Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam; Frank Kofsky, historian and jazz critic; Denzil and Marvin Longton, Citizens Campaign Against Napalm, James Petras, University of California faculty; Peter Seidman, Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam.

On Friday, Oct. 7, 11 p.m., Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in the 17th CD, will appear on the Barry Gray Show, station WMCA. Judy White will be on the Casper Citro Show, Oct. 10, 11 p.m., station WRFM.

Fort Hood 3 Rally Set at Town Hall

NEW YORK — A meeting to pay tribute to the Fort Hood Three will be held at Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St., on Sunday evening Oct. 9. Speakers will include author Dwight MacDonald, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, David Dellinger who just returned from Saigon, Lincoln Lynch of CORE, and Stanley Faulkner, attorney for the three GIs who were imprisoned for refusing to go to Vietnam.



After a lot of stalling and whittling down of demands made by organized labor, Congress has passed and Johnson has signed a new minimum wage law. It raises the present minimum of \$1.25 an hour to \$1.40 next February and then to \$1.60, a year later. These increases are restricted to some 30 million workers for whom the \$1.25 minimum is now in effect. Most of them already receive wages above the new minimums, which they have won through union contracts. Only an estimated four million now earn less than \$1.40 an hour.

The new law grants second-class status to about eight million workers who will for the first time come under federal wage legislation. Included are workers in retail trade, non-teaching school occupations, hospitals, laundries, restaurants, hotels, agricultural processing, taxi driving, logging, public transit, cotton ginning and miscellaneous services. Also included are workers on farms that employ seven or more full-time, year-round people. The restriction means that three out of four farm laborers are left entirely out in the cold, as are millions of other workers.

Those newly included under federal law get only a cut-rate minimum wage of \$1.00 an hour, starting next February. After that, their rate will increase in annual dribbles of 15 cents and they won't reach the \$1.60 scale until 1971.

The fraudulent character of the new minimum wage law, which the Johnson administration parades as a boon for labor, is illustrated by a current report of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. The report shows the average wage for all farm laborers last year at \$1.09 an hour, as against a general factory average of \$2.64. Those few farm workers who come under the new law are promised a minimum wage of \$1.00 an hour next February.

Among those still excluded from coverage under the minimum wage law are many who must rely on public relief to supplement the starvation wages received on their jobs. These workers, like those who will now get cut-rate coverage, usually have to live in slums where they are gouged with robber rents. All of them are among those worst hit by runaway prices for the necessities of life. Their life in the

"Great Society" is a bleak one, with no chance of serious help from the capitalist politicians who practice tokenism and gradualism where the needs of working people are concerned.

An item in the *Christian Science Monitor* of Sept. 9 states: "Washington is watching Negro unemployment at home with knitted brows. Some experts are jittery. The figures hover excessively high.

"Negro joblessness has rocketed to nearly 2 1/2 times that of whites. Some 8.2 percent of Negro workers are jobless; only 3.4 percent of the white labor force is.

"A parallel concern centers on Vietnam. Unpublished Negro casualty figures point up that many underprivileged Negro men, frustrated by job opportunities elsewhere, gravitate to the armed services.

"Negro Vietnam involvement and joblessness, taken together, indicate that when things get tight — when the labor market narrows or war erupts — the underprivileged tend to take the blunter end of the blow.

"The administration worries lest this situation add to civil-rights unrest."

The American Civil Liberties Union has urged the Supreme Court to set aside the 1964 jury tampering convictions of Teamsters Union president James R. Hoffa and one of his lawyers, Z. T. Osborn, Jr., on the ground that techniques used by government informers to obtain evidence incriminating the two men violated the Fourth Amendment's right of privacy guarantee.

In one of two briefs submitted, the civil liberties organization contended that Edward Grady Partin, a Teamsters Union local official, who was himself in trouble with the law on a kidnapping charge, was asked by the government to serve as an informer and report if he saw "any evidence of jury tampering or other illegal activities." Partin's search for evidence against Hoffa in the Teamsters leader's private hotel quarters was a forced entry, the ACLU asserted, since "the consent was procured by Partin's concealment of his role as a government spy and his passing himself off as a loyal friend."

A second brief concerned entrapment of Osborn by Robert D. Vick, a Nashville police officer and special employe of the FBI. Use of spies and encouraging crime, the brief argued, "represent an especially pernicious intrusion into privacy, for by using such tactics, (1) society tries to ferret out not merely tangible externals, but the suspect's words and inner thoughts; (2) it operates by deception and without notice; and (3) it makes the suspect the instrument of his own destruction."

The ACLU added that "few things cause greater resentment and, ultimately, contempt for the law than the use of an entrapper who may himself be a 'drug addict, pickpocket, pimp or petty criminal.'"

Announced at Militant Labor Forum

Plan Latin American Defense Group

NEW YORK — Initial steps to establish a committee to aid victims of political repression in Latin America were announced at a special meeting of the Militant Labor Forum, Sept. 30. Paul Sweezy, co-editor of the independent socialist magazine, *Monthly Review*, and David Dellinger, editor of the pacifist magazine, *Liberation*, have agreed to act as initiating co-chairmen of such a committee.

The Militant Labor Forum meeting was called in solidarity with Hugo Blanco, Adolfo Gilly, Victor Rico Galan and other political prisoners in Latin America. Speakers at the meeting were: Paul Sweezy; John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*; Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*; and Richard Garza, Socialist Workers nominee for Lt. Governor.

In response to an appeal by George Novack, who chaired the meeting, the audience contributed \$195 to help initiate the Sweezy-Dellinger committee.

Richard Garza discussed the activities and views of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader who was just sentenced to 25 years in prison by a military tribunal.

Paul Sweezy reported on the present situation of Adolfo Gilly and Victor Rico Galan, who are being held with others as political prisoners in Mexico. Gilly, well-known Argentinian radical writer on Latin American affairs, was jailed in Mexico City last June with others who are associated with the group led by J. Posadas. Rico Galan, prominent left-wing Mexican journalist, is a vigorous

supporter of the Cuban Revolution. He was arrested in August, with others, and is being held in the same prison as Gilly.

Sweezy read excerpts from a letter he received from Gilly, reporting that prison conditions had improved since the initial period following his arrest when he was subjected to the most extreme tortures. However, he added, he, Rico Galan and the others were now isolated from the rest of the prisoners. He said excellent relations and a spirit of genuine comradeship prevailed among the political prisoners.

John Gerassi gave a moving account of how the Brazilian Peasant League was founded by João Firmino, a peasant who started out with the determination to win a simple, single demand: that each peasant be entitled to his own coffin instead of being dumped into the ground from a constantly reused state-owned coffin. Firmino was arrested after the 1964 coup and his fate is unknown.

Student Group

Joseph Hansen told the story of the group of Peruvian student radicals who carried off a sensational bank robbery in Lima in 1962 in order to help finance the Latin American guerrilla movement. A number of them were captured by police and held four years without trial. Their trial was scheduled for early September.

Various messages of solidarity with Latin American prisoners and protests to the governments of Mexico and Peru were read to the meeting. Harvey O'Connor,

author of *The Empire of Oil*, sent a copy of a letter he had written to Peruvian President Belaunde Terry calling on him to free Hugo Blanco. There was a similar message from Felix McGowan, former Maryknoll priest in Peru. McGowan was present at the meeting and, at the request of the chairman, read his militant declaration of protest to the meeting.

James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*, protested the jailing of Gilly and Rico Galan. Prof. Timothy Harding, an authority on Latin America, vigorously protested the jailing of Hugo Blanco. Prof. Andre Gunder Frank, author of various works on Latin America, added his protest against the persecution of Blanco, Gilly, Rico Galan and the others.

The meeting unanimously adopted resolutions addressed to the Peruvian and Mexican governments demanding freedom for the victims.

In a message received after the meeting, Lord Bertrand Russell, distinguished philosopher and antiwar fighter, added his voice to the demand for Blanco's freedom. "Hugo Blanco," he declared, "is a great leader of his people. His crime is loyalty to them, and his willingness to sacrifice his life in their cause. . . . Every effort must be exerted to impress upon the government of Peru the gravity of reprisals against him. Every effort must also be made to deepen and extend the struggle to which Hugo Blanco and his many fellow revolutionaries have dedicated their inspiring lives."

World Events

Looked Ahead

In a Hearst Headline Service dispatch datelined Paris, Sept. 26, designed to smear the Russell War Tribunal, we read the following:

"Murder of civilian population was defined in the charter of the international military tribunal at Nuremberg as a crime against humanity. It's this point the Communists have in mind when they assert the killing of civilians in bombing raids on north Vietnam or Viet Cong-held villages of the south constitutes war crime under the Nuremberg definition.

"Some lawyers, especially Americans who participated in the Nuremberg trials, felt it would prove dangerous to introduce into

international law a concept as vaguely conceived as crimes against humanity in times of war."

Washington Encouraged

Washington announced Sept. 28 that "encouraged by political and economic developments in Indonesia," it was prepared to resume long-term economic aid to that country. In a possibly related development, the *New York Times* reported Sept. 24 that "Screening is rapidly becoming Indonesia's most feared activity.

"Screening is a security check to determine the loyalties of government employes, students, teachers and others to the anti-Com-

munist regime that has taken control of the nation. . . ."

Terrorist Activity

A bomb was set off in front of the Cuban embassy in Ottawa, Sept. 22, splintering the door and shattering windows in the area. A Cuban counterrevolutionary group in Miami said it was "only the beginning" of a new effort to overthrow the revolution.

Brazil Demonstrations

For 11 days straight, thousands of Brazilian students have been demonstrating against the dictatorship of Gen. Castelo Branco, UPI reported Sept. 23. Each day has been marked by cases of extreme police brutality against the demonstrating students.

At the medical school of the Federal University in Rio de Janeiro, the cops surrounded students, including many coeds, and forced them "to run a gauntlet of flailing nightsticks. . . . One by one the students ran through a hail of flailing nightsticks, many of which splintered in the assaults," according to UPI.

"One policeman replaced his club with a piece of lumber three feet long."

Love and Respect

"After more than three years of study," the *New York Times* reports from Tokyo Sept. 24, "a government-appointed committee of leading educators issued a report this week declaring that the 'ideal Japanese' should cultivate 'love and respect for the Emperor' among other recommended traits."

The "leading educators" declare: "The constitution of Japan states that the Emperor is the symbol of the state of Japan and the unity of the Japanese people. As such, love and respect for the Emperor amount to love and respect for Japan as a nation."

—Ed Smith

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 3, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of Filing: Oct. 1, 1966.
2. Title of Publication: *The Militant*.
3. Frequency of Issue: Weekly except July and August when published bi-weekly.
4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor: Publisher, The Militant Publishing Association, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Editor: Joseph Hansen, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Managing Editor: Barry Sheppard, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Joseph Hansen, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003; Farrell Dobbs, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state). None.
9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do

not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation.

10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal Manual (Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code). Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (Net Press Run), 6,845; B. Paid circulation: (1). Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 2,664; (2) Mail Subscriptions, 3,735; C. Total Paid Circulation, 6,399; D. Free Distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means, 196; E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D), 6,595; F. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 250; G. Total (Sum of E and F — should equal net press run shown in A), 6,845.

Single issue nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (Net Press Run), 5,200; B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 2,118; (2) Mail Subscriptions, 2,671; C. Total Paid Circulation, 4,789; D. Free Distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means, 200; E. Total Distribution (sum of C and D), 4,989; F. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 211; G. Total (sum of E and F — should equal net press run shown in A), 5,200.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signed) Carolyn Kerry, Business Manager.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON
OBSERVATIONS ON VIETNAM SOCIETY. Speaker: Dr. Patrick D. Wall, physiologist on MIT faculty who recently visited Vietnam. Fri., Oct. 14, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 [One block from Mass. Ave.] A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES
MARXIST COMMENTARY. A bi-weekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., Oct. 17, 6 p.m. [repeated Thurs. Oct. 20, 1 p.m.] KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK
Symposium: WHICH PARTY WILL BEST ADVANCE SOCIAL PROGRESS IN NEW YORK? Panelists: Martin Berger, past president of the Village Independent Democratic Club; a representative from the Liberal Party; and Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor. Fri., Oct. 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES
A POLITICAL PROGRAM FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speaker, Joe Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota. Fri., Oct. 14, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

America's Road To Socialism

By James P. Cannon

50 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS

5 East Third St.,
New York, N. Y. 10003

Views of An Indonesian Communist

The PKI's Program

By T. Soedarso

[On Sept. 30 it will be one year since the events began in Indonesia that rapidly led to one of the greatest tragedies of our times, the decimation of the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world and a nationwide slaughter in which the estimates of the number of victims range from 300,000 to more than 500,000. According to the latest reports in the press, the killings are still going on.

[Such a political debacle and mass blood-letting demand the most intensive analysis. The costly experience makes it imperative that the lessons be singled out and learned by the workers movement. In resolutions and articles the Fourth International and parties adhering to its views began this task even before the defeat by calling attention to the class-collaborationist policies followed by the Aidit leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia) with the approval of Moscow and the special backing of Peking. Up to now, primarily because of the ferocious repression, little has come out of Indonesia itself.

[That the Indonesian Communists are now beginning to review the bitter experience they have lived through, is well indicated by the following article. The author is a young member of the Indonesian Communist Party concerned about assessing the causes and meaning of the tragic defeat suffered by his party. He is now in exile. As a reflection of the thinking going on in the most advanced sectors of the ranks of the PKI, the article is of considerable interest and we are pleased to be able to offer it in The Militant. It originally appeared in World Outlook.

[The Militant is printing Mr. Soedarso's article in three parts. The first part, printed last week, dealt with the PKI's failure to prepare the workers and peasants for armed struggle.]

II

On the Question of the United Front

The PKI followed the theory of two stages to the revolution; namely, a national democratic stage followed by a socialist stage.

"To confuse the two stages of the Indonesian revolution and to say that we are already building socialism is demagogic, subjective and reactionary. The national democratic stage constitutes preparation for the socialist stage. The socialist stage cannot be achieved without first completing the national democratic stage."¹² This was the stand of the PKI. It was said that this national democratic

12. D. N. Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution, Its Historical Background and Its Future*, p. 77.

New Edition

Their Morals And Ours

Marxist versus liberal views on morality

Four essays by

Leon Trotsky
John Dewey
George Novack

75 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.,
New York, N.Y., 10003



Sukarno

stage constituted in essence a bourgeois democratic stage, but of a new type; namely, one led by the working class.¹³

According to the party's analysis, Indonesia at present still has a semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. And there are "three forces within Indonesian society; namely, first the diehards, i.e., the feudalists and compradors who collaborate with the imperialists. This is still a big force, but it is declining. Second, the progressive forces, i.e., the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and revolutionary intellectuals. This force is rather large and is increasing. Third, the middle-of-the-road forces, i.e., the national bourgeoisie and all other patriotic and other anti-colonial forces, including the left group of landowners. This force is rather large. It stands between the reactionary and the progressive forces."¹⁴

"The PKI's political line in dealing with these three forces is: with all its power to tirelessly develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces. The implementation of this line is very important in changing the balance of forces in society."¹⁵

Thus, striving to achieve socialism along the peaceful road, the PKI sought to form a "United National Front," consisting of the working class, the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, "based upon an alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class."¹⁶

Needed Alliance?

About the alleged necessity to build a united front with the national bourgeoisie, Aidit said: "...I would like to emphasize once more that although an alliance with the national bourgeoisie is not as important as an alliance with the peasants, the success and completeness of the leadership of the working class in the revolution will be determined by the success of the alliance between the workers and the national bourgeoisie. Therefore the Communists must strive with all their power to preserve and further develop the alliance with the national bourgeoisie." (Emphasis added.)¹⁷

Anyone in the party who opposed the alliance with the national bourgeoisie was branded a "left deviationist." In criticizing the "left deviationist" tendency of the previous period, it was stated that "the party was still complete-

13. The Constitution of the PKI, p. 7.
14. D. N. Aidit, *Forty Years of the PKI*, p. 83.
15. D. N. Aidit, *Indonesian Society and Indonesian Revolution*, Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1957, p. 50.
16. D. N. Aidit, *The Birth and Growth of the PKI*, Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1955, p. 9.
17. D. N. Aidit, *Be a Good and a Better Communist*, Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1964, p. 57.

ly unaware of the need for uniting with the national bourgeoisie, the party's slogan being 'socialism now,' 'Indonesian Soviets,' and the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' This 'left' deviation of the party was criticized precisely by J. V. Stalin in his speech to the students at the University of the Peoples of the East on May 18, 1925, in which he said that this left deviation contained within it the danger of isolating the party from the masses and converting it into a sect."

What happened in reality? In reality, following the policy of an alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, the party undermined the alliance between the working class and the peasants. The leadership of the "United National Front" was never in the hands of the working class or its party, but always in the hands of the national or comprador bourgeoisie.

In reality this line led to multi-class collaboration under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, degenerating into compromises in ideology and in action under cover of the so-called "musjawarah for mufakat" (consulting to reach agreement).

Ideological Compromise

Full acceptance of the so-called "Pantja-Sila philosophy"¹⁸ (a product of the "genius-like thinking" of Sukarno) is an example of the open ideological compromise reflecting the "success" of multi-class collaboration. According to Aidit, "Pantja-Sila is a philosophy for unity . . . In Indonesia one finds Catholic philosophy, Islamic philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, Protestant philosophy, Black Magic philosophy, Mystic philosophy . . . and Pantja-Sila unites what can be united."¹⁹

In the same speech he said further: "The philosophy of Pantja-Sila cannot be separated from the philosophy of Empu Tantular 'Bhinneka Tuggal Ika' or 'Unity in Diversity.' This is very dialectical. 'Unity in Diversity' — differences, but in unity . . . I do not agree with liquidation of not only these various kinds of philosophy but also political parties. In the second stage of the revolution and the next stages . . . because so long as differences remain among us, 'Unity in Diversity' and also Pantja-Sila will still be applicable. And in my opinion these differences will exist forever . . . thus in my opinion Pantja-Sila is also everlasting." (Emphasis added.)

It is very clear that the philosophy of Pantja-Sila is an idealist philosophy. Perhaps it was considered to be only a means of uniting "the revolutionary groups." But it was not that. Aidit said that "Pantja-Sila is . . . everlasting" "...these differences will exist forever . . ." Does he believe that class differences will exist forever? Does not our class struggle aim at abolishing class society?

Is such a statement from Aidit Marxist? Yet Aidit said, "I accept Pantja-Sila also from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint." (In the same speech.)

Similar conclusions hold for the PKI's acceptance of the "genuine concept" of NASAKOM²⁰ proposed by the demagogic bourgeois Sukarno. Aidit said, "Besides uniting various kinds of classes and groups, the National Front also unites various kinds of revolutionary ideas . . . namely: Islam, Nationalism and Communism."²¹ "In the traditional struggle for national independence in Indonesia, we can find three political streams

18. "Pantja-Sila" is "Five Principles": belief in a single god, national unity, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice.
19. D. N. Aidit, *In Defense of Pantja-Sila*, Jajasan Pamburuan, 1964, pp. 27-28.
20. NASAKOM is an abbreviation for Nationalism-Religion-Communism.
21. D. N. Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution, Its Historical Background and Its Future*, p. 65.



DESTROYED. Ruins of Communist Party headquarters in Jakarta following attack by reactionaries.

which were against Dutch colonialism; namely, nationalist, religious and Communist political thought. Thus it is natural to say that there will be national unity in Indonesia if these three political currents unite within the NASAKOM cooperation."²²

And Aidit said, "This united national front has found its organization; namely, the 'National Front.'"²³ At the top it is "headed by President Sukarno himself, who with his vice-presidents reflects the cooperation of NASAKOM . . . showing us how deeply rooted is the idea of the national united front among the masses. Now it is our duty to work hard to foster and consolidate it."²⁴

During the struggle against the Dutch colonial power, it is true, there were many political groupings all of which were against the foreign imperialist rulers. But we could also see which were truly revolutionary, which were quasi-revolutionary, and which were opportunist.

For example, the PNI [the Indonesian Nationalist Party founded by Sukarno] was clearly bourgeois. In the beginning it reflected the national bourgeoisie but then it degenerated into a vehicle of the national bourgeoisie, bureaucrats, compradors and bribers. Thus during the struggle, it always swung opportunistically. And in times of revolutionary crisis, it was always on the side of the reactionary forces. A clear example was provided during the "Madium Affair" in 1948 when it served as the "vanguard" of the reactionary forces that murdered thousands of Communist cadres and revolutionary rank and file. Sukarno himself at the time issued the challenge: "Join Sukarno or Musso."²⁵

Again in the recent period (1964), during the campaign for unilateral action in taking over the land belonging to the big landowners, the members of this nationalist party joined in suppressing the peasant movement; and the "most progressive" leader of this party issued an order to "stop any unilateral action." Yet the PNI was considered by the PKI to be its true partner in the NASAKOM cooperation as the representative of the nationalist political stream.

Feudalist Party

Similarly with the Nadhatul Ulama, an Islamic scholars party. The NU was very clearly the party of the feudalists and landowners. They used Islam as a cover for their reactionary activities in preserving their landownership and exploitation of the peasants. By using Islam as protective coloration, the party played a big role and had great influence among the masses that are still strongly under the sway of Islamic teachings. There is no instance in Indonesian history where this party has played a progressive or revolutionary role. It has always stood on the side of

22. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
25. Musso, a leader of the PKI in the twenties and thirties, managed to escape abroad when the Dutch suppressed the movement, returning in 1948.

the reactionary forces. Yet the PKI sought to preserve unity with the NU within the so-called NASAKOM cooperation.

Besides the nationalist and religious parties in the so-called "National Front" led by Sukarno, there were other reactionary elements, including the generals.

Thus the so-called "National Front" was not a revolutionary front led by the working class. It was not even the united front depicted theoretically in the documents of the PKI; namely, a united front of the working class, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie led by the working class. It was clearly collaboration of all classes under the leadership of the demagogic bourgeois Sukarno.

Allies Needed

Of course, the PKI cannot and must not struggle alone; the working class must not struggle alone. It needs allies. It should not isolate itself from the masses; but the masses are not the national bourgeoisie! It should be clear who is really an ally and who is really an enemy.

In a country like Indonesia, in which poor peasants constitute more than 60 percent of the population, peasants are the real ally of the working class. The peasants should become the army of the revolutionary movement led by the working class. Poor city dwellers or the petty bourgeoisie are reserves to be drawn upon.

Towards the national bourgeoisie there should be a cautious and vigilant attitude. The revolutionary movement could and should support the progressive attitudes or actions of the national bourgeoisie, but there should be no class collaboration with the national bourgeoisie, since this can undermine the alliance between the working class and the peasants. The Communist Party should have its own policy based on the demands and experience of the most revolutionary class.

There is, naturally, the influence of Islamic teachings and nationalist thinking among the masses. This should be considered in propaganda work and in enlightening the masses. But it should never mask the class character of the struggle. The masses should be clear that this struggle is a class struggle and not a religious or racial struggle. The struggle is to overthrow the exploiters, to crush and abolish the system of exploitation of man by man. And the masses should even have a very concrete picture in their minds of the true character of the ruling class — the compradors, the bribers, the usurers, the feudalists, the ruling-class apparatus, the reactionary government apparatus, etc. They must be shown how and trained to overthrow these reactionary agencies. Only by such means can the united front among all the oppressed classes be tempered, strengthened and made militant. Not through pleading with the "national bourgeoisie."

(To be Continued)

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 36



Monday, October 10, 1966

Not an Isolated Act

The nation's propaganda media have expressed pious concern about the outbreaks of ghetto violence sparked by killer cops and unendurable misery and oppression. But there has been a pronounced absence of such concern from these same quarters about the violence being directed by ultra-rightists against radical and antiwar forces.

The various acts of violence against left-wing and radical groups cannot be considered individual, isolated actions.

The Sept. 29 fire-bombing of the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party came 25 days after a bomb exploded at the national headquarters of the Communist Party some 10 blocks away. That bomb ripped out a wall, wrecked a basement room and damaged the editorial offices of *The Worker*. Other buildings in the area were damaged.

Last May 1, a bomb was thrown at the Communist Party headquarters, smashing a window.

On Sept. 7 of 1964, arsonists tried to set fire to the building.

On Oct. 21 of the same year, a parcel containing a bomb was mailed to *The Worker's* editorial office. Luckily a staff member noticed the package was suspicious and it was removed by police. After defusing the bomb, they described it as "highly lethal."

On March 4 of this year, the national headquarters of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco was shattered by a blast which came from what police estimated as 40 sticks of dynamite. The blast was heard 15 miles away. It shattered every window on the block, and the street was strewn with broken glass and splintered wood. Again, luckily, the office was vacant.

Shortly afterward, on April 9, a bomb ripped the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley. Its force shattered windows in a 300-foot radius and tore shingles off the roof of a home three houses away.

In none of these cases have the police so much as detained a suspect. (In the case of the bombings of the Communist Party headquarters, party spokesmen observed that the FBI constantly has the place under every known form of surveillance and should, therefore, have been able to contribute to solving the crimes.)

These acts of terrorism are part of a growing atmosphere of right-wing violence, expressed in its most horrifying way when the fanatical anti-communist gunman walked into the Detroit Socialist Workers Party headquarters and murdered Leo Bernard and seriously wounded Jan Garrett and Walter Graham last May.

Yet, city officials have remained strikingly unperturbed by these events. When the Communist Party called on Mayor Lindsay to speak out against the bomb attack on its headquarters, Lindsay shrugged it off as "a police matter." He has shown no greater concern about the fire-bombing of the SWP headquarters.

These terrorist acts coincide with the rise of the antiwar movement and are an expression of the frustration and rage on the part of the ultra-right over the fact that they have been totally unable to mobilize any significant section of the population against the antiwar movement.

At the three big antiwar parades held in New York, for example, the rightists tried to mobilize counter-demonstrations and even mount violence against the antiwar forces. Their first effort was a feeble one, the second even smaller, and by the time of the third big antiwar action they were reduced to a miserable handful of counter-pickets screaming epithets at a huge throng.

Because the war is so unpopular and gives these vicious forces no opportunity to strike the kind of blows they would like to, they resort to these acts of terrorism in the hope that they will intimidate those who fight for peace and a better world.

The required response is clearly indicated. The attacks must be met by a doubling and redoubling of efforts and a closing of ranks in an even greater solidarity than has already been achieved by the antiwar forces. Let the terrorist know we cannot and will not be stopped.

Messages of Solidarity

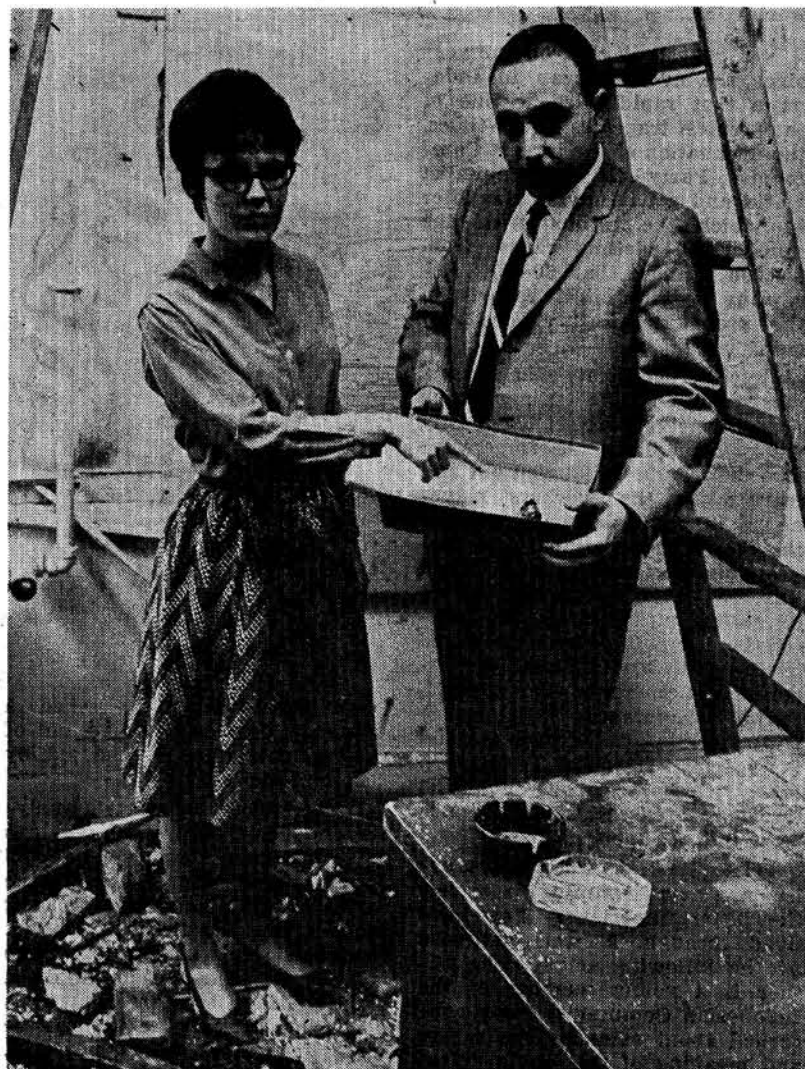
[The following telegram was sent Oct. 1 to Mayor John Lindsay by A. J. Muste, chairman of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.]

The report that four fire bombs were hurled at the office of the SWP at Broadway and 18 Street on Sept. 29 is shocking. Earlier, the headquarters of *The Worker* in this city was bombed and similar incidents have taken place in other cities. These incidents seem to develop a pattern of an effort to discredit the peace movement and to silence radical criticism of the administration's course in the Vietnam war. We urge that New York should not react to this latest attack in routine fashion and that you as mayor should voice discouragement of this trend. —**Reverend A. J. Muste.**

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party voices its outrage at the right wing-inspired fire-bomb attack on the national offices of the SWP in New York this past Thursday. The Cleveland branch pledges itself to redouble its efforts in building the Socialist Workers Party and in helping to build the antiwar movement. The attack on the SWP headquarters and previous similar bombings of antiwar and other radical groups illustrate the psychosis of the supporters of Johnson's "dirty war" in Vietnam who follow the full logic of the meaning of that war to its conclusion. We call on all antiwar forces and all radical and civil libertarian groups to join this expression of protest and outrage aimed at destroying free speech and seeking to intimidate the antiwar movement. —**Cleveland Socialist Workers Party.**

The American Civil Liberties Union deplors the recent bombings of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Coming in the wake of other recent attacks on the headquarters and spokesmen of minority political parties, it seems clear that we are experiencing a new wave of assault on political dissent. Although the ravages of McCarthyism are thought to be a part of past history, these new attacks remind us that the infectious disease still remains. They are to be more condemned because they rely on violence to intimidate those who dare to exercise the First Amendment right of free speech and association in dissenting from the majority's political position.

These attacks, indeed, may result from the spirit of vengeance and hysteria which official government action breeds. The crack-down on organizations dissenting from the administration position on the Vietnam war, fed by the recent fiasco of the House Un-American Activities Committee mid-August hearings, and the department of justice's ordering the



EXAMINE WICK. Judy White and Ralph Levitt, SWP candidate for New York controller, examine wick of fire-bomb found in debris.

DuBois Clubs to register as a Communist-front under the Subversive Activities Control Act, may indeed be taken as a signal to emotionally unstable elements to give vent to their belief in McCarthyism. —**John de J. Pemberton, Jr., executive director, American Civil Liberties Union.**

Bombing of the offices of *The Worker* and *The Militant* are efforts to repress dissent on the war. Where is the FBI? If these attacks had been on a bank, our police would have been more diligent in tracing the bombers. Law and order must work for all or none. —**Clark Foreman, director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.**

The failure of New York's mayor to condemn the Labor Day bombing of the offices of *The Worker* and of the Communist Party has served to encourage continued violence against opponents of the administration's war in Vietnam and racism at home.

The latest despicable terrorist act, the fire-bombing of the Socialist Workers Party offices in New York, should intensify public

demand that the mayor shake up the Police Department and insist upon discovery and prosecution of the criminals who seek to silence all opposition to the criminality of war and racism in our country.

The federal authorities must share the guilt for the failure to seek out those responsible. —**Henry Winston, national chairman, Communist Party.**

The Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam protests the terrorist bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters. This attack, like the bombings of the offices of the Berkeley VDC, the DuBois Clubs and the Communist Party, is an attempt to intimidate the antiwar movement by striking at sections of it. We deplore such attacks and reaffirm our solidarity with all those fighting against the war in Vietnam and social injustice. —**Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam.**

The hurling of these four bombs on the offices of *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party, was, of course, a dastardly act. It reflects the rising threat of ultra-right and fascist elements in the United States, coming as it does after the shooting of radical activists in Detroit and the bombings of the DuBois Club and the Communist Party. Especially atrocious is the failure of the police to act effectively.

I suggest that protests be lodged particularly with the mayor of the City of New York and the attorney general of the United States. —**Dr. Herbert Aptheker.**

We at Ramparts join the many loyal Americans who protest the savage bombing of your paper's headquarters. Terror from the right is growing at an alarming rate and it is up to the people of this country to do all in their power through the law to see that this menace against freedom is stopped. **Edward Keating, editor, Ramparts.**

The "super-patriots" who perpetrated this latest bombing, like

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.



BLASTED. Scene where Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee headquarters was dynamited April 9.

Solidarity and Protest

those who earlier bombed the offices of *The Worker*, the DuBois Clubs and the Vietnam Day Committee, are following the example set by the barbarous foreign policy of the government of the United States of America. The culprits are not the bomb-throwers, but those who are responsible for dropping bombs night and day on the people of Vietnam. —**Leo Huberman, Paul M. Sweezy, co-editors, Monthly Review.**

Comrades deeply regret bombing. Relieved no one injured. No doubt attack reflects reaction's alarm at growing opposition to war in Vietnam. We know they will not succeed in their attempted intimidation and that we will all cease our struggle only when the revolution there and here is successful. —**P. Mitchell, La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière; Montreal, Quebec.**

We deplore and condemn the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party offices and headquarters at 873 Broadway on Sept. 29.

Such acts of violence, like the bombing and murders in the South, simply point to the racism and oppression which prevail in the nation and which are today becoming increasingly visible. —**Ivanhoe Donaldson, director; New York Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee office.**

The news of the fire bombs thrown at the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party came in the midst of our petition campaign to have the Detroit Common Council approve the city's paying burial expenses and medical bills for the three Young Socialists shot on May 16. The parallels between the murder and shooting here in Detroit and the recent fire-bombings in New York are easily seen. In both cases the attack was carried out by reactionary individuals encouraged by the vicious anti-communism launched and maintained by the U.S. government. In both cases, the Socialist Workers Party became a target (along with SNCC, the VDC, the Communist Party, the black ghettos) of the pattern of violence directed against those who oppose racism, the war in Vietnam and other abuses of capitalism. In both cases, the SWP has refused to give up its fight to remove the basic cause of these abuses; capitalism. What happened here on May 16 resulted in a greater determination than ever to work for the creation of a socialist society. We know that the same attitude exists in New York among our comrades. —**Detroit branch, Socialist Workers Party.**



NEAR MISS. Remnant of molotov cocktail on window sill of Militant editorial office. This one failed to do damage.

The fire-bombing last week of both the national office of the Socialist Workers Party and of *The Militant* itself — followed by the fact that the New York police department could find no clues and that the case was promptly closed — is obviously part of a national pattern of violence directed at all areas of the left in American society today, and stimulated, if no more, by certain individuals and departments in the national government itself. As such, these violent acts of bombing and of killing already perpetrated must be promptly and boldly denounced by all decent American citizens as a violation of our most fundamental rights of free thought and speech. We must not tolerate another epoch of McCarthyism — or worse — to silently fall upon and strangle the national spirit. —**Literary critic, Maxwell Geismar.**

We are confident that this attack will not deter you from continuing your militant fight against the Vietnam war.

Bring the troops home now. —**Larry Seigle, chairman; Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam.**

I doubt that the latest manifestation of violence against peace partisans and proponents of change will draw the same kind of editorial space and worried comment that the concept of black power draws. Perhaps it's all part of the same pattern — the insistence on the status quo, which leaves the concept of violence intact in the seat of power. That's where the confrontation will have to take place, and those in the seat of power know it. That's why they are so permissive of violence. —**James Aronson, editor; National Guardian.**

Bombing against any section of the antiwar movement is directed against all. Each bombing indicates the weakness of our opponents who can only answer a just movement by bombs as LBJ answers the Vietnamese. —**Bay Area Committee against the war in Vietnam.**

Violence in America is commonplace. The recent bombing of the New York headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party is only the latest outrage in a series of violent attacks on those forces in America which have courageously opposed the criminal practices of the United States in Vietnam. The daily use of napalm and lazy dogs in Vietnam and the wanton terror which has been employed against the black ghettos in the U.S.A. have created an atmosphere in which the violent attacks on the antiwar movement are hardly surprising. We protest this vicious harassment and express our solidarity with its victims. We are convinced that those who speak for the conscience of America will not be intimidated by such acts. —**Russell Stetler, director; John Gerassi, coordinator; American branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.**

The fire-bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in New York is an act of terrorism against the electoral activity and the antiwar work that the Socialist Workers Party is energetically carrying on. It is an act of terrorism against the Party's candidate for Governor, Judy White, and her call for the return of American troops from Vietnam. It is an act of terrorism against Paul Boutelle, the Party's candidate for Attorney General and his call for black power. But it is more than an act of terror against the Socialist Workers Party. Like the bombing of the Communist Party's headquarters, like the bombing of the Berkeley VDC

headquarters, it is an attack on the whole antiwar and radical movement and must be viewed as such.

All the antiwar and socialist groups must come together to show that neither fire-bombing nor napalm-bombing can intimidate them. The antiwar actions should grow bigger and stronger, looking forward especially to the Nov. 5-8 demonstrations. The Socialist Workers Party candidates in New York and throughout the nation must extend and expand their election work in response to this attack. —**Jack Marsh, SWP candidate for U.S. Representative, 5th Congressional Dis., Minn.; Joe Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota.**

The Socialist Party deplores the recent fire-bombings of the Socialist Workers Party's national office. These actions can only be noted as an attempt by individuals through unlawful means to harass and suppress the right of free thought and speech and as an attack upon the radical movement in general. Although we do not agree politically with the SWP, we will undauntingly defend them against encroachments upon their civil liberties. —**Socialist Party.**

Last week's fire-bombing of your national headquarters is another in the long line of hooligan attacks against those organizations who have been working to end the war in Vietnam. The bombing of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee's headquarters, the repeated attempts to destroy the offices of *The Worker*, the repressive attacks against the DuBois Clubs by New York police and the federal government, the fatal shooting of one of your Detroit comrades and serious wounding of two others — all desperate acts of terror and all with one purpose: to destroy the growing anti-Vietnam-war movement in this country. But, rather than confuse and isolate us, this pattern of intimidation and repression has served to bring all those struggling for peace closer together.

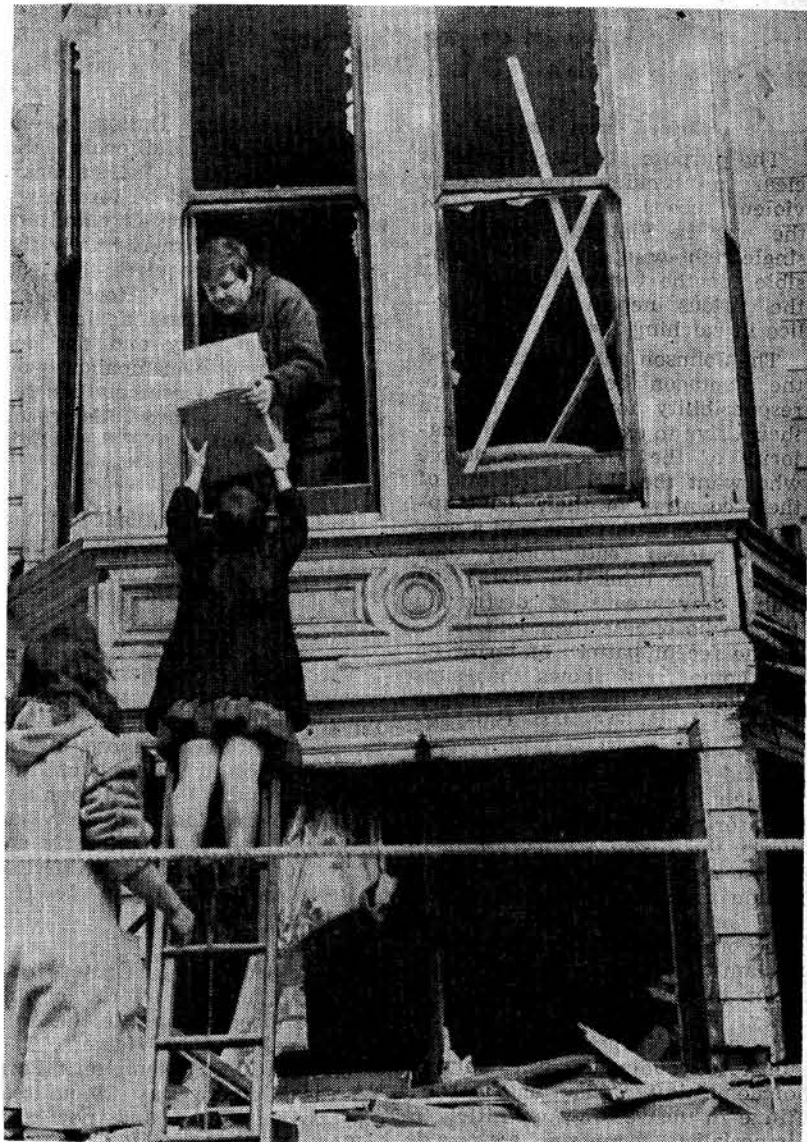
We stand with you in the fight against the war in Vietnam, as we do with all organizations and individuals who have had the courage to tell the truth about this bloody, racist war. An injury to one is an injury to all! —**Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam.**

It seems to me evident that the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in New York City, following upon the bombing of the Communist Party headquarters there, is part and parcel of the violence to which an exploitative society resorts as the crises of the society intensify.

Some years ago, I read in the Widner library at Harvard a volume which chronicles the sequence



ATTACK ON CP: Scene in editorial office of *The Worker* after Sept. 4 bombing of Communist Party headquarters.



REMOVE RECORDS. Members of DuBois Clubs remove records from national headquarters in San Francisco after March 4 bombing.

of particular acts of violence that occurred in Germany during the period that the Nazis were seeking power. This is the background that is always in my mind as I read of acts of terrorism and violence in the U.S. today, whether in the bombings of buildings of radical organizations in New York or in the killings of equal rights campaigners in the South.

Is it really true that the kind of social organization we have can maintain itself only by rational terror, violence and slaughter? From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic to Mississippi to New York City to San Francisco, it seems to me that the masters of this society are answering the question in the affirmative.

But though they may be the masters of our society, they are not yet the masters of the world, try as they may. The anonymous thugs and hoodlums who bombed the buildings of progressive organizations in the U.S. will be no more successful in the long run than those who are dispatched to foreign fields to conquer and suppress the independence movements in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The violence of the present rulers of this society is a losing game. —**James Higgins, assistant editor; York Gazette & Daily.**

These attacks follow directly from the violence against peace marchers last year and Negro demonstrators this year and follows logically from Johnson's demands for national unity on a war program. The attacks will grow worse; the police have made it clear that they will not protect us. Socialists, peace and black liberation forces should meet immediately to plan a coordinated defense.

Agitation and public appeals will not be enough. Hooligans must be taught that it is physically dangerous to attack our people. —**Prof. Eugene Genovese.**

The Welfare Workers Committee for Peace in Vietnam is shocked to learn of the bombing of the SWP headquarters yesterday. This is the latest in a series of right-wing attacks on the antiwar movement. *The Worker* was bombed less than a month ago, the Berkeley VDC office was bombed last spring and the national DuBois Club office was also bombed this year. The Welfare Workers Committee stands in solidarity with the victims of all these attacks, and is determined to continue its opposition to the war in Vietnam and the barbarous denial of human rights which it bears responsibility for in this society. —**John Talbutt, chairman; Welfare Workers Committee for Peace in Vietnam.**

The Sept. 29 attack on the Socialist Workers Party headquarters is one more reminder of the tenuous character of political liberties in this country. It is of the same fabric as the bombing that wrecked the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York, Sept. 4, the office of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley, April 9, and the national office of the DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on March 6.

These attacks have not stopped short of murder. In May, a political assassin entered the headquarters of the Detroit Socialist Workers Party and shot three Wayne State University students who were there, killing one and seriously wounding the others.

(Continued on Page 6)

... Messages of Solidarity

(Continued from Page 5)

The purpose of these attacks is clear: to intimidate into silence by violent means those opposed to the war in Vietnam. Perhaps a single right-wing group is responsible for the bombings, aided by the curious ineptitude of the police in catching them.

The Johnson administration and the Pentagon bear the ultimate responsibility for this terror. In their drive to exterminate the majority of the Vietnamese people who want the U.S. to get out of their country; in their drive toward a war with China and a possible nuclear catastrophe, they have made thinkable and justifiable any means of destroying those who oppose their policies.

The recent pattern of terror on the home front shows that suppression of democratic rights knows no boundaries. Domestic fascists expect they will receive — and often do — the same type of plaudits that their government-sponsored international counterparts, the Green Berets, receive.

For this reason, the Socialist Union urges all those individuals and organizations who treasure freedom of dissent, no matter how distant New York or Berkeley may seem to them — nor how distant they feel from national radical or socialist organizations — to unite in condemning this pattern of domestic terrorism and to continue in unswerving opposition to imperialist terrorism abroad. —Florida Socialist Union.

The bombing of the SWP headquarters in New York is the latest of a series of terroristic acts aimed at the left in this country. Other examples include the bombing of the VDC office in Berkeley, the bombing of the DuBois national office, the murder of Leo Bernard, the bombing of *The Worker* and the ransacking of community project offices in Chicago.

Whoever carries out these individual acts of terror, the real perpetrators are the ruling classes of this country who have, with official acts and with repeated lies, created a climate of fear, suspicion and bigotry in the minds of so many.

University of Minnesota Students for a Democratic Society condemns local and federal law enforcement officials for failure to carry out their professed duties in the specific instance of this terrorism and for operating as the private bodyguards of a particular class in general.

But in order to really end the atmosphere of terror and the cyclical violence which accompanies it, it will be necessary to strike at the root cause of Cold War anti-Communism. SDS calls on all those who seek emancipation of the oppressed and exploited to unite in opposition to anti-Communism and all other scapegoating designed to dilute the struggle for emancipation. —Lee W. Smith, chairman; University of Minnesota Students for a Democratic Society.

This violence that's rising throughout the nation from the ultra-right reactionary fanatics and the police departments throughout the nation require the unity of all left, progressive and liberal and democratic-thinking forces throughout the nation to repulse the attack. We see that wherever the left and other progressive forces have been attacked, there exist ultra-right and police department unity promulgating this violence.

For example, in San Francisco, Ronald Reagan and the police department have united to defeat the aspirations of ghetto residents; in Mississippi and Alabama, where it's a foregone conclusion; and in New York, where the Conservative Party and the police department are uniting to defeat a civilian review board which is ineffective to begin with.

Therefore, the DuBois Clubs stress that, in California, the wisest way to defeat these attacks, for example, would be for Brown to rebuke police brutality and not try to woo the ultra-right. By the same token, it requires that the so-called liberal, Rockefeller, should take a stand against the Conservative Party and the police department by campaigning on behalf of the proposed civilian review board. —Jose Ristorucchi, N.Y. Coordinator; W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

This is another evidence of the growing violence in our society caused in the main part by the evils of capitalism and war. —Catholic Worker staff.

The Berkeley-Oakland SWP recognizes recent bombing of national headquarters as another attempt to intimidate those in the front lines of struggle against imperialist war in Vietnam. Our answer to bombing, as to previous bombing, will be to intensify efforts for a socialist America. —Berkeley-Oakland Socialist Workers Party.

The right wing has acted hysterically, in their efforts to discourage those opposed to the brutal, illegal war in Vietnam. The bombings of the Communist Party, the Vietnam Day Committee, the DuBois Clubs, and, now, the offices of the Socialist Workers Party are clearly planned incidences. Their weapon has been in the form of violence. Ours must be stronger unity and a redoubling of our efforts within the peace movement. Yours for peace and unity. —Grace Mora Newman.

The San Francisco local of the Socialist Workers Party protests the terrorist fire bombing of the national headquarters of the SWP in New York.

Coming in the midst of an election campaign of the SWP, it is an attempt to stifle the truth which is so feared by the ruling circles of this country and is another effort to intimidate the growing opposition to the Vietnam war being carried out by United States imperialism.

Criminal acts such as the fire-bombing of the SWP headquarters, the bombing of the VDC offices of Berkeley, the murder of a member of the SWP, the bombing of the offices of the Communist Party and the bombings of the DuBois Club offices will not halt for one moment those who refuse to be a party to the slaughter of the Vietnamese people.

Such crimes will serve to unify and strengthen the whole antiwar movement in this country. We of the San Francisco SWP pledge our continued and increased activity against this brutal war in Vietnam and re-affirm that an attack against one is an attack against all. —San Francisco Socialist Workers Party.

The Twin Cities DuBois Clubs denounces the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party New York headquarters as a direct consequence of the war policies of the Johnson administration and as part of a pattern of ultra-right, government-ignored attacks on such antiwar groups as the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, the DuBois Clubs of America, the Communist Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. —Twin Cities DuBois Clubs.

The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party expresses its solidarity with the rest of the party in the face of the continued acts of violence being directed at our party and the antiwar movement as a whole.

These terroristic attacks are committed by right-wing "patriots" who take their cue from

the official campaign of violence being carried out against the Vietnamese people. Such acts are committed in the mistaken belief that the antiwar movement will be intimidated and weakened as a result. Our response and, we are sure, the response of the entire antiwar movement will be to work even more energetically and unitedly for an end to the crimes being committed by the Johnson administration in its efforts to crush the struggle of the Vietnamese for their independence. —Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party.

It seems apparent to me that this bombing is an attempt by those who are for the war in Vietnam to intimidate the antiwar movement. I demonstrate my solidarity with you in this attack on your organization. —Carol Bodine, steering committee member; San Francisco City College Students Against the War.

Outraged by bombing attack. Confident these fascist tactics will never shake your determination to fight for socialism any more than they have succeeded to this point in Vietnam. We stand with you. We shall win! —W. Bernard, organizer; L'Alliance Des Jeunes Socialistes, Montreal, Quebec.

I feel repression of all groups on the left and in the peace movement is increasing and will continue to increase. We must stand together in opposing this. —Staughton Lynd.

The opponents of the imperialist war machine are coming under greater attack. One of the best ways to defend ourselves is to build an even larger protest against the ruling class and its government which creates the atmosphere for such attacks. —Boston SWP and Boston YSA.

The bombing of your headquarters is just one more in the current series of terroristic acts directed against the most outspoken opponents of the war in Vietnam. We stand in solidarity with you and all other antiwar fighters against those who seek to destroy the antiwar movement. We urge you and all other sections of the movement not to be intimidated, but to increase your work to end the war as we will ours. —San Francisco State College Vietnam Day Committee.

We strongly protest the right-wing terrorist fire-bombing of the SWP national headquarters. This act was undoubtedly an attempt to silence the Socialist Workers Party and its strong opposition to Johnson's war in Asia. We will redouble our efforts to end this war and to change the society which produces such outrages. —San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance.

The Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party condemns the fire-bombing of the national headquarters of our party in New York. This attack, far from intimidating those who are fighting against the Vietnam war, only serves to increase the determination of the party to struggle for an end to the war. Every attempt to push back the antiwar forces through violence will be met by greater determination to go forward. —Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party.

The Chicago branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance express solidarity with you. The bomb attack on the national office of the SWP will not lessen our opposition to American capitalism and its war in Vietnam. We urge the SWP in New York to answer this attack by accelerating its election campaign. —Chicago branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Fort Hood 3 Still Getting Brutal Army Treatment

The Fort Hood Three are still being subjected to barbaric punishment and miserable treatment, according to a report by Mrs. Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora. She visited Fort Meade, Md., where the three GIs are being held, on Sunday, Oct. 2.

On the basis of statements made by officers at Fort Meade in response to protests against the treatment of the three servicemen, it was reported last week that the three are no longer being compelled to stand in their cells the entire day. Mrs. Newman found on her visit that this was not the case.

The three men, who are being held at Fort Meade pending adjudication of their court-martial sentence, are still required to stand from when they arise at 5 a.m. until 6 p.m. in the evening.

Pvt. Mora was sentenced to three years at hard labor, and Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas were sentenced to five years after they were convicted of refusing to go to Vietnam. The three GIs were arrested, ordered to Vietnam and court-martialed after refusing, following their announcement that they had filed suit in federal court to bar the army from forcing them to go to Vietnam. Their request for an injunction charged that U.S. intervention there is "illegal, immoral and unjust."

Camp Midvale Arson Attack

Camp Midvale, an interracial resort at Ringwood, N.J., announced that its main building was razed to the ground by arsonists early on Oct. 2. The fire levelled the building's housing offices, social hall, dining room, meeting room and stage.

The camp has been under heavy right-wing attack. On July 14, Congressman Charles Joelson, a local Democrat, branded it "a Communist training school." A week later, the mayor of Ringwood referred to the camp as "the comrade of the enemy." Then the state convention of the American Legion issued an attack on the camp. It will cost an estimated \$50,000 to replace the destroyed facilities.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

A Tribute to 3 American Heroes

The Fort Hood Three

Pfc. James Johnson Pvt. Dennis Mora Pvt. David Samas

Jailed by the Army for refusing to fight in Vietnam.
They have stood firm. Now we must back them up!

speakers

Dwight MacDonald, author-critic Jules Feiffer, cartoonist
Dave Dellinger, just back from Saigon
Lincoln Lynch, associate director, CORE
Stanley Faulkner, Atty. for Fort Hood 3 A.J. Muste, chrmn.

SUNDAY 8 p.m. OCT. 9

TOWN HALL

113 W. 43rd St. (Between 6th Ave. & Times Sq.)

contrib. \$1 (students 50 cents)

Ausp. Fort Hood Three Defense Committee
5 Beekman St. (10th floor) Phone 227-8891

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Southern Fighter

New Orleans, La.

Recently, a number of us read your publication and take this opportunity to express favor in what you are saying.

At our college here, we would like to spread seeds in accord with the ideas you are printing. As suppressed students, we are trying to get organized for there is definite need for academic freedom and student justice on our campus; you can imagine what we mean.

J. P.

NAACP Appeal

New York, N. Y.

The terror of a young Negro boy alone, cruelly injured and assaulted by men who cursed and beat him, will long remain in our national memory. A week ago Monday in Grenada, Miss., 12-year-old Richard Sigh, his face bloody, his clothes torn, hobbled nearly a block on a leg that had been broken before he escaped his torturers. He had committed the offense of presenting himself for admission to school together with white students.

Richard was one of 150 Negro school children permitted by a federal court order obtained by the Legal Defense Fund to enter previously all-white schools in this rural Mississippi city. While police and town officials stood by, a mob of 400 white townspeople, armed with chains and axe handles, pummeled and kicked Negro students — boys and girls. Four, including Richard Sigh, were hospitalized; more than 30 were injured.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund represents the Negro parents and children of Grenada in this crisis. Another victim of the mob was Henry Aronson, Fund attorney. He was brutally beaten while local police stood by. He was in Grenada to secure legal protection for the defenseless Negro children.

The full resources of the Legal Defense Fund are now being used through the courts to secure an end to violence in this community. The hurts suffered by children shame every decent citizen. The violence and lawlessness of white citizens, tolerated by officers of the law and by town officials, must be stopped if ours is to remain a nation under law. Last week in Grenada the mobs took over. The parting words of the brutal assailant of 12-year-old Richard Sigh tell all: "That'll teach you, nigger. Don't come back tomorrow. You tell your mother if you come back here tomorrow, she'll be a dead nigger."

For the past 27 years, the Legal Defense Fund has defended helpless victims of racial hate and in-

justice through the orderly processes of the courts. We depend entirely on the voluntary contributions of concerned citizens. Our need is more urgent today than at any time in our history. Please give as generously as you can.

Send your contributions to the "Committee of 100," Suite 2030, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y.

Paul Moore, Jr.
Chairman

Nature of the UN

Bronx, N. Y.

Something that has been puzzling me for some time now is the position — or lack of position — that the radical press of all shades and opinions has taken over the years on the United Nations.

It is said that Lenin categorized the League of Nations as a "den of thieves." I believe that the UN is the same, only more so. Under its aura of benevolence it has waged the war in Korea, helped overthrow Lumumba in the Congo, allowed the U.S. to take unilateral action in the Dominican Republic and Cuba and a host of other things.

Yet in its 20 years of existence I have never seen one real exposé of the UN in a radical paper or magazine.

Is this because the socialist countries are in the UN and because Russia helped (wrongly, I believe) to initiate it? Or is it because, like the cop on the corner who practices police brutality one minute and helps an old lady to cross the street the next, it does some good?

Most "radicals" seem to think the latter — that "while they're still talking there's hope." To my mind this is the phoniest pacifism and I think it's about time they woke up and took their blinkers off.

E. L.

P.S. Perhaps the UN should be changed to U.S. of the UN so people would know just what it stands for since the U.S. really controls it about 99 percent of the time.

E. L.

[From the outset, *The Militant* has expressed the view that the UN has served as an instrument of the U.S. and its imperialist allies and that it is a dangerous illusion to consider it a vehicle for the prevention of war. Non-capitalist states can utilize the UN as an international forum as, for example, Cuba has done. But in such decisive cases as the U.S. intervention in Korea and the intervention in the Congo, the UN has been utilized as a front for imperialism. Editor.]

A 'Must' Film

Detroit, Mich.

Every so often a film emerges which merits a "must" rating. One of these is "The Gospel According to St. Matthew." It has already received the praise of the bourgeois critics. However, as is usual with the bourgeois mind, it suffers

from various paralyses when confronted with themes carrying social meaning. It is this social meaning of "The Gospel According to St. Matthew" that the decadent criticism of the bourgeoisie in its 11th hour search for "artistry" and "originality" have necessarily passed by.

Pier Paolo Pasolini, in bringing the gospel of the itinerant preacher Jesus of Nazareth to artistic fruition via the medium of film, has transcended the environment. The reasons for Pasolini's transcendence are not difficult to define. They are simple. Pasolini is at once an artist and a communist. Who else but a man incorporating these imperfect descriptive labels would have had the reverence to make a film using ordinary Sicilian folk as actors in a setting that by its beautiful simplicity cuts away the glamour that the hucksters had applied with rococo deviation to the story of Jesus? This is not to imply that schmaltz is absent from Pasolini's film. It is there. But it is there because schmaltz is inherent in the myth of Christ, inherent in the tragedy of Jesus, and not because of anything Pasolini has done via the license of film creation. Indeed, one hazards to say that atheists will sympathize more with the film than the religious. Moreover, in the future, should any artist seek to make a film on the life and death of Jesus, he will have to reckon with Pasolini's

version because it is a masterpiece.

The backdrop of the film is the island of Sicily. Sicily, barren and desiccated. The early life of Jesus is handled traditionally by showing birth, flight into Egypt and a powerful massacre of the innocents. The mood of the film is set when we see Jesus striding through a field, calling bemused peasants to repentance. Following this, Jesus is at the sea recruiting fishermen to be fishers of men. His temptation by the devil is partly set above the clouds in the volcanic craters that foot Mt. Etna. The contrast between the rich and the poor is maintained through the device of robes and popish hats for the rich.

Throughout the film, Pasolini employs the words and parables of the Social Gospel evoking the sympathy natural to goodness. The scene of Jesus confounding the scribes and pharisees is extremely well done. He is the folk hero, the people grinning and enhanced by the performance of their champion in the bowels of the powerful. One thought of another great folk hero relentlessly, zealously

devastating the class logic of the rich and their intellectual hirelings; the terribly depressing truth of "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house." Historically, only the instruments of crucifixion have changed. Assassins are still in demand by the heirs of Rome.

Music as diverse as Negro spirituals, Bach, Russian Choral, African folk, Hebrew cantorial and symphonic accompanies the various scenes. This variety underscores the universality of culture and the identity that all men share free from the poisons and lies of the vested interests. The crucifixion scene is itself a powerful combination of music, setting, and the camera's attention on Mary rolling to and fro in pitiful lamentation while the son of man suffers for his audacity. Upon the face of the crucified Christ appears a throbbing, delirious light heightening the effect of the climactic agony. The film ends with Jesus' resurrection and admonition to teach all nations, a final homage to the truth and its inextinguishable power of liberation.

Elias Boukhers

Thought for the Week

"I got a letter from my mother," said one young driver of an armored car. "She said that the war can't last long now because the Vietcong know they can't beat the Americans. Brother, what she doesn't know!" — From a Vietnam dispatch to the Oct. 3 *New York Times*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Looking Ahead — A recent issue of the *Wall Street Journal* reported on a billion-dollar Navy contract for the construction of a new Fast Deployment Logistics freighter. The paper said: "The FDL will team up with the Air Force's forthcoming giant jet transport plane, the C5A, to give U.S. military forces a faster harder punch for police actions and brush-fire wars of the 1970s."

Responds in Kind — Recently we reported the case of a Minnesota youth who dumped two buckets of human excrement on the records at his local draft board. Now there is the furor in South Korea about the parliamentary debate surrounding the scandal of the country's top corporation getting caught smuggling raw saccharine into the country under the guise of tax-free construction material. Opposition MPs charged government complicity. One of them, Kim Du Han, strode to the podium holding a cardboard container. Snipping the rope from it with his teeth, he took out a five-gallon tin container and flung the contents over the prime minister and several cabinet members. It was human excrement. The ministers were outraged.

Deep Thinker — Charles Kerr, President of the University of California, says the reason there are more student protests these days is because there are more students.

Brace Yourselves — We're sure parents will be happy to learn that the president of the Toy Manufacturers Association predicts that TV toy advertising this year "will be the largest ever by far." He anticipates that a heavy Christmas drive will push toy sales to \$2.6 billion for the year.

Ain't It the Truth — John C. Doyle, a financial wheeler and dealer, took it on the lam to Canada after being sentenced to a prison term in the U.S. for illegal use of the mails to sell unregistered stock. Now he has emerged as chairman of the executive com-

mittee of Canadian Javelin, a high-powered investment corporation. The *New York Times* asked James McNamara, president of the company, how his associates felt about dealing with a fugitive. "Mr. McNamara stretched his portly body out on a beige sofa in his 15th floor suite, managed a wan smile, and said, 'business is business.'"

If Only It Worked — A native of Indiana living in New York received a draft board notice of reclassification. The Post Office cancellation bore the inscription, "Pray for Peace."

Mistaken Identity — Lester Hale, Dean of the University of Florida at Tallahassee, says he doubts the administration will recognize the recently organized University of Florida Socialist Union. He said that because of its name people might think it "was a spokesman for the administration." Another spokesman

said it was by no means assured the group would be recognized even if it changed its name. He said an organization's objectives had to be in accord with administration policy. Jan Garrett, secretary of the group, said a bi-weekly forum series is being planned.

Correction — Basing ourselves on an obscurely worded news item, we recently reported that a survey had shown that True cigarettes had less tar and nicotine than any other filtered brand but that all the filtered cigarettes had more tar and nicotine than the unfiltered ones. Actually, True was found to contain less tar and nicotine than either filtered or non-filtered types. What the report did establish was that the filtered cigarettes of three top companies contained more tar and nicotine than their non-filtered brands. The report also confirmed that no cigarette is "safe."

—Harry Ring

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name.....
Street..... Zip.....
City..... State.....

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young socialist magazine

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Name.....
Street..... Zip.....
City..... State.....

Demand Civilian Probe of Killer Cop Who Set Off S.F. Ghetto Explosion

By Hal Verb

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 1 — San Francisco's poverty-stricken black ghetto exploded this week in reaction to a police shooting of a Negro youth.

The outburst was touched off by the police killing of 16-year-old Matthew Johnson, who was shot in the back Tuesday afternoon, Sept. 27, as he fled from patrolman Alvin Johnson. The police claimed that the car from which the youth jumped and fled was stolen.

By 6 p.m. that day about a thousand people had gathered near the scene of the shooting at the intersection of Palou and Third Street, the heart of the Hunters Point district, considered to be the poorest and most segregated of the city's five black ghettos. Located in the southeast corner of San Francisco, the 30-square block area houses some 6,300 people in low-rent housing developments built during World War II as temporary quarters for shipyard workers.

The mood of the people who had gathered at the Palou and Third Street intersection was one of extreme anger and bitterness.

Some of the black youth at the Bayview-Hunters Point Community Center had sent word to City Hall that they wanted to meet at 4 p.m. with the mayor and Police Chief Cahill in an attempt to quell the mounting resentment which had already broken out in the form of smashed store windows and sporadic looting. They petitioned the mayor with a five-point demand that included a call for jobs, education and recreational facilities and an end to the harassment of Hunters Point residents by the police. A meeting finally did occur, but not until four and a half hours after the scheduled time.

When Mayor John Shelley arrived, he brought with him about 40 helmeted police armed with shotguns and tried to talk to the hundreds of youths gathered out-

side of the community center. Furious at the mayor for sending in police with shotguns, the youths booed and jeered him as he spoke through a bullhorn. Orville Luster, a Youth for Service leader, persuaded the mayor to leave and 200 police sealed off a six-block area after he left. During this time, a TV-cameraman's car was turned over and set on fire.

A nervous city administration, anxious over a possible recurrence of another Watts in the troubled city of San Francisco, panicked and called in the National Guard and additional reinforcements of state police and highway patrolmen. Both Mayor John Shelley and Governor Edmund Brown said they were acting through measures adopted since the Watts uprising. The city was proclaimed to be in a state of emergency and a curfew was announced for Negro ghetto trouble spots.

National Guards

One day later, 2,000 national guardsmen were in town with some 500 stationed in the Hunters Point area and 850 patrolling the Fillmore district. They came armed with M-1 rifles and Browning Automatic Rifles (BAR's). There were reports also that 120 mm. recoilless rifles and 60 caliber machine guns were also on hand. Guardsmen marched up and down in groups of five and would stop people on the street asking them to identify themselves.

The same day violence erupted late in the afternoon at Hunters Point — but the violence was directed against the Negro citizens by shotgun-armed police who fired on the Bayview-Hunters Point Community Center. Although the press accounts described the incident as a bloody "battle," the facts tell a different story.

I visited the Center today and spoke to the executive director, Harold B. Brooks, Jr. Brooks said that I and Bob Randolph of the *National Guardian*, who was also present, were the first newsmen to question him since the eruption on Sept. 27. He told a harrowing tale of fear and hysteria that prevailed during the time of the shooting.

As I walked through the rooms still bearing the marks of gunshot bullets and slugs and the shattered remnants of the glass windows, Brooks said that the community hadn't recovered yet from the shock of the police firing on the Center.

"These kids," Brooks said, "They weren't thinking that the police would ever fire on them."

At the time some 200 youngsters were in the building. Luckily enough, when the firing began there were none in the front.

"If there had been," said Brooks, "there would have been a massacre."

Brooks estimated that a thousand rounds of ammunition were "easily" fired into the building. Brooks, an ex-navy man, said: "It sounded like we were back in Okinawa."

"I told the kids to lay down until we got this thing settled and asked the boys to keep the girls down and hold them down." Then someone shouted: "They've killed two or three people! They've killed two or three people!"

At this point the youths became hysterical and Brooks, in a desperation move, rushed to the



Barb photo by Elliot Borin

PRISONER. One of the 359 prisoners seized by cops during San Francisco ghetto outbreak. Cops turned area into a battleground.

front of the building and shouted to the police: "For God's sake — let me bring the kids out and take them home!" Miraculously, he was not fired on.

It was about seven or eight minutes after the firing began that shooting came to a halt.

The pretext used by the police in firing at the dilapidated building was that they were searching for snipers. But according to John Fischer, program director at the Center, "the so-called sniper fire came 15 minutes before the riot squad got there, and was by a white man."

Seven youths were injured in the fusillade — all Negroes. Some of them, described in the press as "rioting youths," were volunteer workers who were trying to clear the streets and had worked with the police in a last-ditch effort to avoid a clash.

"For God's sake, don't send any more cops down here," pleaded Adam Rogers, a youth organizer with the Economic Opportunity Council (Anti-Poverty Program). "We'll clear it up for you," he told a police captain. He was shot in the leg for his efforts.

By Friday, Sept. 30, according to police statistics, a total of 359 persons had been arrested and 51 injured. A majority of those arrested were curfew violators. (On Thursday night 92 demonstrators were arrested in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco after they marched in a show of sympathy. They were charged with curfew violation, inciting to riot and committing a public nuisance.) Of the 51 injured, eight persons received gunshot wounds — all of them Negroes.

On Friday, a group of San Francisco religious leaders called for a full investigation of the shooting of Matthew Johnson.

A statement released by the ministers said that "Negroes have no faith in the integrity or fair

play of law enforcement officers." The statement included the following demands:

1) A detailed investigation of Johnson's death by a non-police body.

2) The establishment of citizen review boards to investigate accusations of brutality.

3) The enlargement of the police commission and appointment of minority members.

The issue of jobs was at the root of the Hunters Point revolt, and it manifested itself when 11 youth members of the Bayview Center and anti-poverty program appeared at a televised press conference yesterday. Most of them were in their late teens or early twenties.

Christmas Jobs

A Chamber of Commerce representative of San Francisco was seated and was talking about 500 jobs that would be "opening up" at Christmas.

"Christmas?" one of the youth shouted. "What are we going to do until Christmas?" he asked. "This is what you get with the Post Office. We don't want any Post Office jobs."

Then one teenager asked: "Will persons with police records be accepted?" Slightly fazed by the question, the Chamber of Commerce man responded: "That will have to be determined."

This didn't set too well with the others and they, instead, demanded a signed statement that there would be 2,000 jobs coming up. After some dispute as to whether the statement would read exactly as the youths demanded, the Chamber of Commerce man agreed to sign a statement and said that he would meet with them on Monday.

It was this fierce determination and expression of solidarity that asserted itself throughout the televised conference.

It came up, for example, when

one of them said: "Whatever we do, we're going to stick together. We're living in poverty and if we're going to die in poverty we're going to stick together."

Adam Rogers, chairman of the Youth Advisory Council, a group of young people of the Bayview-Hunters Point Community Center, told how he was shot by police.

"These police were shooting people that were trying to help. They knew who I was. They could easily distinguish me because I had a blowhorn in my hand and was wearing a black arm band. Just shooting up a building like that — they knew there were a lot of kids in there. This doesn't make any sense — shooting up a building like that."

Another one told how shotguns were being used to fire into people's homes. "It looked like Vietnam. It's even worse than that. There the enemy's got a better chance than we have. They can put up a white flag and they got a chance but here we don't even have a chance."

"They're killing us in the war over there," said another. "And they're killing us over here. Why should we go there and fight? One of my brothers got killed over there and got a medal. Man, that thing ain't gonna mean anything!"

"You drive us into the wall," interrupted another. "Why don't you drive us into a job?"

"We're tired of seeing people pushed around. When you see an old lady kicked in the back, I don't care who you are, you're going to say something."

"The cause of the rioting is the system that has been imposed upon us for so long . . . We don't want a short-term program. We want a long-term program."

By the time the television interview was over, listeners got a different picture of the so-called "rioters."

SNCC Acts to Bar Atlanta Frame-Up

A panel of three federal judges has agreed to consider a suit from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee demanding a federal injunction to halt prosecution of Atlanta SNCC workers. The SNCC members are under indictment for allegedly "inciting riots" in that city the first week of September.

SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael, one of those arrested, charged that the threatened prosecution was a clear-cut violation of the right of free speech. The city authorities, he argued, are simply trying to use legal methods of harassment to intimidate civil rights spokesmen. Thus the SNCC case raises an important constitutional issue, and a SNCC victory would set an important precedent against state and local prosecution of civil rights workers.

The case is also related to state "sedition" laws which have been used to silence radicals. A similar three-judge panel hearing is pending in the case of the three Indiana University students who were indicted in 1963 for their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.